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IBERO-AMERICANA: 28

THE
EXTENT OF THE EMPIRE
OF THE CULHUA MEXICA

R. H. BARLOW

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THE EXTENT OF THE EMPIRE OF THE CULHUA MEXICA

BY

R. H. BARLOW

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PREFACE

THE PRESENT PAPER was prepared between March and December, 1943, under the auspices of the University of California at Berkeley, while the author was a research assistant in the Department of Anthropology. The data were assembled in the Bancroft Library, under ideal working conditions. The author wishes to express his gratitude to the staff of that Library for its coöperation, and to Professors Alfred Kroeber and Carl Sauer for their critical aid. Mrs. C. A. Block, Editor of the Department of Anthropology, contributed valuable advice on the technical problems of format. As for the translations scattered through the text, the author has chosen to make them loose, being aware that translations are at best worthless toys. No amount of ingenious paraphrase can possibly supplant the original documents, to which those wishing to investigate the problems of the paper will turn. (Certain emendations of the text have been made in Mexico during the succeeding five years.)

R. H. BARLOW

ABBREVIATIONS

AGN	Archivo General y Publico de la Nación. México, D.F.
ENE	*Epistolario de Nueva España*. Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed. 16 vols. México, D.F., 1939–1942
GPM	*Descripción del obispado de México hecha en 1570 y otros documentos*. Luis García Pimentel, ed. México, D.F., 1897
GPT	*Relación de los obispados de Tlaxcala, Michoacan, Oaxacá y otros lugares en el siglo XVI*. Luis García Pimentel, ed. México, D.F., 1904
PNE	*Papeles de Nueva España*. Segunda serie. Francisco del Paso y Troncoso, ed 7 vols. Madrid, 1905–1906
RHE	"Relaciones históricas estadísticas." MS. 2 vols. From collection of Gómez de Orozco, Joaquín García Icazbalceta, comp.
RMEA	*Revista mexicana de estudios antropológicos*. Vols. 3 ff., México, D.F. 1939—. [A continuation of *RMEH*. See next entry.]
RMEH	*Revista mexicana de estudios históricos*. 2 vols. México D.F., 1927–1928

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I. INTRODUCTION

Nature of the Present Study

The present paper is the first part of a study of the empire that 121 Cortés invaded when he set foot at Vera Cruz in 1519. This is [101] the empire wrongly called "Aztec"—a term which the writer has considered elsewhere[1] and for which he proposes to substitute the name "Culhua Mexica." This and a second paper, to be published later, deal with the geographical extent of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica and with its division into tributary provinces. All towns that can be proved to have been subject to the Valley of Mexico in 1519 will be dealt with in the two parts of this study of Culhua Mexica. Later and more detailed portions of the larger study consider this vast Empire chronologically: how and when it came to reach its final dimensions, who dominated it at the outset and who toward the end, and so forth. The present mapping of the Empire of the Culhua Mexica is a necessary preliminary to the historical studies (in the form of local histories) which are to follow, and which are the writer's chief aim.

Great exactness is possible in mapping the Empire (see map at end 114 of book), because of one monumental document, the *Matricula de* 128 *Tributos;* its bibliography is considered in the second section of this Introduction. It is the original native tribute list, in which the payment exacted from the provinces was recorded; it is the official bookkeeping ledger of the Empire, a hardheaded, realistic document. The *Matricula* 211 is shaped like a book, in which hieroglyphs for various towns— [65] ranging in number from two to nearly thirty—of a province are

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[1] R. H. Barlow, "Some Remarks on the term 'Aztec Empire,'" *The Americas* (1945), 1: 344–349.

This empire was the product of a Triple Alliance among three tribes settled in the [648] Valley of Mexico. These three tribes differed in religion, in customs, and doubtless in many other things. Their names were the Tepaneca, the Acolhuaque, and the Mexica. (The Mexica were subdivided into Tenochca and Tlatelolca.) The chief towns of each during the period of the Empire—roughly speaking, the century before the Spaniards came—were Tlacopan [Tacuba], Texcoco, and Mexico-Tenochtitlan (with Mexico-Tlatelolco active from 1428 to 1473). In 1519, the end of the native period, the Mexica of Tenochtitlan had quite overshadowed their allies, so that it is proper to call the Empire of the final period—which is the period of the present study—the Empire of the Mexica or Mexicans. But more exactly, it should be called the Empire of the Culhua Mexica, for reasons I have set forth in the above-cited paper. It is hopelessly erroneous to call it the Aztec Empire, for although the name Aztec was once applied to the Culhua Mexica, at the start of their history, they had discarded it long before founding their capital city.

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114 painted along the outer and lower margins of the page, the rest of the
128 page being taken up by the items of tribute for which these towns
[211 were jointly responsible. The place names on a given page prove to
65][be geographically contiguous on modern maps, and so it is evident that the towns were regarded as a unit, as all having something in common. I have called each region thus indicated a "province," partly in order to provide some territorial division, but also because these groupings of towns were in some measure expressions of former political or linguistic units. Most of the Matlatzinca-speaking towns, for example, cluster on a page of their own; moreover, they were all conquered in a continuous campaign of a few years. These provinces (indicated on the map by large arabic numerals) I have named after the introductory glyphs, assuming the first glyph on each page to represent the most important town. Other available sources justify this. In another source, for instance, in the province I have named Tepequacuilco, Tepequacuilco is stated to be the "presidio de gente de guarnicion que cobravan los tributos: y recogieron de toda la cuisca [Cohuixca]";[2] in that which I have named Coayxtlahuacan, Coayxtlahuacan is called "donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesta su frontera de gente de guerra."[3] The borders of the provinces as they existed in 1519 have been commented on in detail where these were adjacent to non-Mexican lands.

Most of these invaluable place glyphs of the *Matricula* could be read even if they were all we had, and they are of course the final authorities. The task of reading them, however, is greatly simplified by the annotations they bear; the *Matricula* itself contains scattered and not always reliable identifications in roman letters, and the copy of the *Matricula* in the *Codex Mendocino* contains a complete series of highly reliable ones. In order to have some norm for spelling, I have everywhere followed these *Mendocino* versions. There are objections to this procedure—which gives us "Tuluca" for what is better rendered "Tolocan,"—but it shows how one Indian pronounced all the names of the Empire before the corrupting European influences set in.

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[2] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 223.

[3] *PNE*, 4: 165; 4: 198 agrees. Likewise, Tochpan (Tuchpa in *Mendocino*) has seven towns, and Ixtlilxochitl (*Obras historicas* [1892], II: 197) says that "La gran provincia de Tochpan se dividía en siete provincias." The fact that the initial glyph is often the only one identified in roman letters in the *Matricula* is also taken into account.

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I have included a certain amount of related ethnographic material 128 which has appeared in the course of accumulating data on place names and locations. Names for certain stretches of territory, names of language groups (these two often intertwined), reasons for such names, and occasional remarks on customs or gods form the main part of this supplementary material, which shows the great diversity of the Empire. (This diversity is still present: even today, a traveler in Mexico can see twenty countries in one.)

Here, however, the supplement stops. I have reluctantly excluded every scrap of the historical sections originally written to accompany these provinces. By suppressing an approximate history now, I can give an accurate history later. Nor has it been possible here to touch on the question of government and administration of tribute,[4] and on the topics of the motivations and formulae of native warfare, all of which need reëxamination.

In view of the nature of the authority for this map of the Empire 114 of the Culhua Mexica—a tribute reckoning—it has, however, seemed 128 appropriate to add some data on tribute. These data come chiefly from two sources: the *Matricula*, which gives the tribute from provinces as units, but not from their component towns; and the geographical *relaciones* of the 1580's, which often record the kind of tribute from a given town. Here again, I have omitted incidental materials in order to focus on the map. I have treated the *Matricula* tribute data in a summary fashion,[5] but have given all other tribute information in full.

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[4] Manuel Moreno, *La organización política y social de los aztecas* (1931), gives something on these points.

[5] I.e., by simply presenting whatever the Spanish annotations of the *Mendocino* copy say (for these give the frequency of payment, which is not deducible from the *Matricula* pictures alone), and by correcting a few errors in regard to quantities of goods. This method leaves much to be desired. A real study of the *Matricula* tributes would involve that document and its two copies—the checking of all items in all variant drawings and annotations from different hands, with special note taken of the quite unexploited annotations in Náhuatl on the *Matricula;* the investigation of native measurements and weights; the detailed itemization of various styles of mantles, skirts, and warriors' costumes portrayed (each of which has a name and a symbolism and many of which are badges of certain social categories); the question how often payment was made and into whose hands, where it was stored, and many other matters. Until such a study is prepared, the student should consult Cooper Clark's edition of the *Mendocino*, supplementing this with the works of Eduard Seler, especially his *Altmexikanischer Schmuck und soziale und militärische Rangabzeichen*. On the frequency of tribute payment, some observations have been made by R. C. E. Long, *The Payment of Tribute in the Codex Mendoza* (1942), and by R. H. Barlow, *The Periods of Tribute Collection in Moctezuma's Empire* (1943). Those interested in place glyphs and etymologies should see Peñafiel's imperfect, but still not superseded, *Nombres geográficos de México* (1885).

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THE MATRICULA DE TRIBUTOS

114 En estos Fragmentos se ve el más auténtico testimonio de la opulencia, grandeza, y Majestad de este Imperio Mexicano.

—ARCHBISHOP LORENZANA

The map the publication of which is begun in this work is based primarily on one document. Since the relationship of this document to its copies and editions has not been worked out before, it is proper to turn our attention to bibliography.

The *Matricula de Tributos*[6] is a folio manuscript, painted on coarse native paper, arranged like a European book. It is preserved in the Salon de Codices of the Museo Nacional de Arqueología de México and bears the exhibit number 52. Originally it must have contained more than eighteen folios, although today it has dwindled sadly.[7] On both sides of each of these folios are painted the hieroglyphs of the towns which were subject to the Triple Alliance of Mexico, Texcoco, and Tlacopan, as well as those of the tributes they paid.[8] The *Matricula* was probably made after 1511 or 1512, as I have remarked elsewhere.[9] Its European format hints that it may have been painted for Cortés, who soon had it in his hands and was learning the likeliest fields for pillage. Bernal Díaz tells us: "En los libros de la rrenta de montezuma miravamos de donde le trayan los tributos del oro y donde avia minas y cacao y rropa de mantas y de aquellas partes que viamos en los libros y las quentas que en ellos tenian montezuma que se lo trayan queriamos."[10] Afterward it doubtless served as a touchstone for taxability. When the first generation of unhappy mestizos was about come of age, the Viceroy Mendoza had the *Matricula* copied as part of the compilation made to show His Sacred and Caesarian Majesty what

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[6] Named by Boturini in his *Catalogo del Museo Historico Indiano* (1743).

[7] Peñafiel, *Monumentos del arte mexicano antiguo* (1890), p. 69, interprets the number 35, written on the last sheet of the manuscript as it exists today, to mean that it had 35 pages originally. This, however, is merely the number given in the Boturini inventory.

[8] That the *Matricula* contained records of the tributes of both Mexico and Texcoco is clear from the inclusion of the provinces of Quauhnahuac and Tlalcoçauhtitlan, with certain subordinate towns which were specifically subject to Texcoco, as Ixtlilxochitl (*Obras históricas*, T. II: *Historia Chichimeca* [1892], p. 89) and other sources inform us. It also includes the province of Xilotepec, which with its towns was subject to Tlacopan specifically ("La orden que tenian los indios ... ," *ENE*, 14: 145–148).

[9] Anderson and Barlow, "The Maize Tribute of Moctezuma's Empire," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden* (1943), 30: 414–415.

[10] *Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* (1904), II: 144.

New Spain was like. This copy (which is not generally realized to be a copy)[11] preserves for us the manuscript as it stood in the 1540's. It is possible that a leaf or two had been lost before that date. Since four leaves have been lost since then, this copy is very precious. This *Mendocino* copy shows that the *Matricula* had thirty-six pages and somewhat more (a matter which cannot be commented on here), that is, eighteen leaves *plus,* at that time. The military history section of the *Mendocino* was also copied from the *Matricula,* where only a scrap of it survives. Probably the ethnographic section of the *Mendocino* was the only one painted especially for it. The manner in which two leaves of the *Matricula* were lost completely and two were carried off is noted below. 114

Sometime in the sixteenth century the manuscript was annotated unsystematically in Náhuatl. This must have been after the *Mendocino* copy was made, for the latter does not take cognizance of these annotations, but provides others.[12]

The *Matricula* disappears in that neglected century of consolidation, the seventeenth. In the first half of the eighteenth, however, it came into the hands of Lorenzo Boturini, the Italian Guadalupe enthusiast, whose immeasurably rich collection embraced almost every document on which our knowledge of ancient Mexican history is based. In the inventory made of his papers, July 15, 1745, it appears as No. 35 of "Ymbentario 2ª."[23] It also figures in the printed catalogue of the following year, § VII, No. 9, where it received the name of "*Matricula.*"[24]

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[11] Orozco y Berra suspected that it was. The preface to the 1925 del Paso edition says (*Códice Mendocino,* p. vii): "No se sabe si es obra original de los indios instruidos comisionados especialmente por Mendoza, o copia de distintas pinturas antiguas colegidas en el códice." And even that astute bibliographer Gómez de Orozco is skittish: "pudo ser la fuente [del Códice Mendocino] el codice llamado Matricula de los Tributos … u otro muy semejante, pues que existen algunas variantes entre este y el codice Mendocino" ("¿Quien fué el autor material del códice Mendocino?" *Revista mexicana de estudios antropológicos* [1941], 5: 44). In the absence of the much-needed variorum edition of the *Matricula,* but with the related manuscript and editions described here—and lacking space for more extended discussion,—one can only dogmatize. The tribute section of the *Mendocino* is unquestionably a copy of the *Matricula.* The only differences between the pictures of the two are minute. Sometimes two pages in the *Mendocino* are devoted to material which occupies only one page in the *Matricula,* and in the province of Çihuatlan the town of Xolochiuyan has been placed out of sequence by the *Mendocino* artist. A few erasures have occurred in the *Matricula,* leaving gaps and traces of the erased material. Such variants as these are not worth itemizing further.

[12] The names of the warriors' costumes, for example, are given in the *Matricula* annotations, but are lacking in the *Mendocino.* The *Matricula* gives "Tlacotepec" in Tuluca Province, whereas the *Mendocino* gives a probably erroneous "Mitepec." The *Matricula* gives "Panchimalco" in Quauhnahuac; the *Mendocino,* the certainly erroneous "Chimalco." As a whole, however, the town names of the *Mendocino* are highly accurate; these minor slips are cited to show that the *Mendocino* annotator saw a still unannotated *Matricula.*

A very inexpert copy of the *Matricula*, now bound with it, was made about this time. It appears in the "Ymbentario 2ª" as No. 36,[25] in the printed catalogue. This copy does not fully reproduce the initial page, which had become nearly effaced. Four pages of this wretched copy were published by Peñafiel, that is, those corresponding with the two leaves carried off to Philadelphia—an event noted below.[26] The *Matricula* suffered the fate of all Boturini's collection, being taken as part of the evidence of his crime of collecting funds to make a crown for the Virgin of Guadalupe. It lay in one of the secretarías of the Gobierno del Virreinato until 1770, when Archbishop Lorenzana published the first of the editions it has suffered.[27] By Boturini's day (mid-eighteenth century) the manuscript had been reduced from the eighteen leaves plus of *circa* 1540, to sixteen leaves in the Lorenzana publication. The losses were the leaf containing the provinces of Tlachquiauco (recto) and Tochtepec (verso) and that containing Axocopan (recto) and Atotonilco (verso).[28] Lorenzana's edition is imaginatively unfaithful, being a series of lopsided copper-plate engravings. One page is so wretchedly copied that the "artist" has a vacant space left, which he plugged up with a cherub blowing a trumpet—a very curious item to find in Moctezuma's tribute list. This edition includes the Náhuatl annotations, as well as the Spanish translations which certain of them had acquired in the meantime.

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[23] "Este, es otra Matricula, como la antezedente en el mismo Papel de Pasta, todo figurado con caracteres, en [*sic*] antiquissimo, no tiene por donde se perziua a que Provincia toque. en diez y seis Fs" ("Inventario de los documentos recogidos á D. Lorenzo Boturini, 15 July 1745," *Anales del Museo Nacional ... de México* [1925], Epoca IV, T. 3).

[24] "Original. Una Matricula de Tributos, que se pagaban a los dos Reynos de Mexico, y Tlatilúlco por las respectivas provincias subditas. Es de 16. fojas de papel Indiano, aunque le falta algo del principio, y fin, y se pintan en ella los lugares tributarios, y las especies de los tributos, que pagaban en frutos, y otros generos" (*ibid.*).

[25] "Esta es copia del antezedente, se halla en Papel de Marca mayor en diez y seis fojas" (*ibid.*).

[26] Peñafiel, *Monumentos del arte mexicano antiguo* (1890), pls. 256–259.

[27] "Fragmentos de un Mapa de Tributos, ó Cordillera de los Pueblos ... " in Lorenzana's edition of Cortés, *Historia de Nueva España* (1770), pls. following p. 176.

[28] Not Atotonilco el Grande (see p. 64), which is on p. 8 of the manuscript as it exists today.

Sixty years after the appearance of Lorenzana's edition, the original *Matricula* suffered further loss. Two folios were detached by Poinsett, the American minister of Iturbide's day, who carried them off to Philadelphia, along with a large collection of Mexican antiquities on which there is no report available. One of these folios, half torn away since Lorenzana's edition, contains the provinces of Tlatelolco (recto) and Petlacalco (verso). The other contains Tlatlauhquitepec (recto) and Tuchpa (verso).[illegible] With this final mutilation, the document was left in its present state, except for a binding which it acquired sometime in the nineteenth century. It has been in the Museo Nacional for many decades, where Sr. Fernando Gamboa has recently devised a setting worthy of it, amid a welter of gold nose-plugs, green feathers, cacao, paper, and the like.

In view of all these mutilations, I wish to state that I cite the present pagination throughout.

At the end of this same nineteenth century, in which the *Matricula* was at first seriously maltreated, the nobility of the old document was appreciated, and a lithographed edition in heightened colors was published by Peñafiel. This edition partakes of the usual defects of "official" scholarship of the Batres Era and omits[illegible] the annotations in European writing. As recompense, the editor had the prices which he thought the tribute would bring on the open market added up, and published this in many solemn tables.

With the recent recovery of the Philadelphia pages, the story of the *Matricula* is complete. As there has never been a usable edition of it, I have had to work with diminutive photographs of the original. A good edition and a serious commentary on this document are much needed.

[illegible] They were published in the *Transactions* of the American Philosophical Society (n.s. [1893], Vol. 17, following p. [62]), in whose possession they and the other antiquities were left. Recently they have been recovered but not restored to their place in the manuscript.

[illegible] As in the unpardonable cases of the Codices Colombino and Sánchez Solís.

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II. THE TARASCAN FRONTIER

128 Because there were many provinces in the Empire which it is our purpose to delimit, some few grand divisions seem advisable. These have been made in a rather arbitrary way, with varying criteria. In certain regions it is possible to point out a particular zone as the special sphere of influence of some one or another member of the Triple Alliance. The six provinces described below, however, have been grouped on the basis of their common enemy and peril, the Purépecha or Tarascans, against whom they formed a long frontier. Brand has published a useful map of the Tarascan dominions and their fortified towns facing the Mexica, from the Río de las Balsas north.[1]

1. Çihuatlan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 On the sixteenth page of the *Matricula* and on folio 38ʳ of the *Codex*
114 *Mendocino* appear the twelve towns of the most westerly province of the Empire we are about to depict. This province, now the "Costa Grande" of Guerrero, extends west of Acapulco to the outlet of the Río de las Balsas. In the *Matricula,* seven of the towns are identified by annotations in roman letters; in the *Mendocino,* all are. The province of Çihuatlan was in a region which is wretchedly mapped to this day, where half the place names seem to have disappeared. If it were not
X for a "Relación de los pueblos que visitó Gaspar Xuarez en la provincia de Çacatula," of the mid-sixteenth century, the present map would scarcely be possible. There is supplementary information in the relación of Zacatula itself, dating from the 1580's, which the writer has published from a nineteenth-century copy—the original remaining unpublished and apparently unpublishable, for some mysterious reason known only to its present guardians.

635 Since this relación was available only after the printing of the map,
114 two or three inconsistencies between map and text have inevitably
128 resulted.

The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet

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[1] Brand, "An Historical Sketch of Geography and Anthropology in the Tarascan Region. Part I," *New Mexico Anthropologist* (1943), Vol. 6–7, facing p. 60.

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"Ciudad de México," has been used as the skeleton of the present map; 635
the filling-in has come largely from Xuarez' report. Towns which 114
have been identified are given below, the left-hand column containing 128
their names as written in the *Codex Mendocino* and the right-hand column containing the equivalents when present on the modern map. The number following each name indicates the location of the town on the accompanying map (at the back of this book). A question mark in parentheses means that the location of the town is uncertain.

[103]

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Apancalecã (?), 2	[Missing]
Coyucac, 8	Coyoquilla
Nochcoc, 10	Nuxco
Panotlan, 9	[Missing]
Petlatlan, 6	Petatlán
Xihuacan, 5	[Missing]
Xolochiuhyan, 7	Jolochuca
Yztapan, 3	[Missing]
Çacatulan, 1	[Missing]
Çihuatlan, 9 [*sic*]	[See Remarks on Towns]

Aside from doubtfully identified Apancalecan, two pueblos of the *Mendocino* list remain entirely unidentified. These are Colima and Coçohuipilecan. This Colima can hardly be the Colima of the modern state of the same name, because of the distances involved. Coçohuipilecan, however, appears as "Coçohuipillan" in the conquest list of Ahuizotl, among other names of this province.

For reasons explained below, to these towns from the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy may be added the pueblos of Acapulco (13), Anecuilco (12), and Citlaltomaua (11).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acapulco, like Coçohuipilecan, is one of the towns conquered by 632
Ahuizotl. Its absence from the tribute list is due to its slight impor- [505]
tance in aboriginal days—to nonseafarers the celebrated port facilities 131
meant nothing at all. It is even possible that the tribute list may refer to an Acapulco near Zacatula, mentioned in the relación of that town, in which case Yopitzinco may have extended farther west along the coast.

632 *Anecuilco* (near Çeuctla) is added on the authority of the sixteenth-
114 century relación of this and of the following town. (These two are
131 included in the province of Çihuatlán somewhat arbitrarily, in the
interest of symmetrical disposition.) Anecuilco and its companion
Citlaltomaua "tributaban al rrey que era de Mexico que se llamava
Monteçuma."[1] It lay behind the high mountains east of Citlaltomaua
491 (whose location is considered below), eight leagues of "muy mal
133 camino ... de muchas bueltas" distant.[2] The river upon which it was
situated sprang from the sierra of Tlacatepetl, taking the name of Xiquipila in its lower reaches from another pueblo on its banks, and emptying in the southeast into the "playa y boca que dizen de Nagualan." A tributary of this river was called the Nexatl.[3] All of these names save that of the sierra Tlacatepetl have disappeared. However, since Citlaltomaua lay on the Río Coyuca (as appears below), this other river springing from the Tlacatepetl must be the present Río Papagallo. The Río Sabana, which is the only other possibility, has a source nearer the coast than the sierra mentioned. The rest of Anecuilco's location depends on that of Citlaltomaua.

Apancalecan may be either the Atenchancaleca of Gaspar Xuarez,[4]
two leagues from "the Villa" (Zacatula), or Echancaleca (No. 863 of
the same document), one league from the Villa. (All three names
103 mean "Place of the Owners of Houses by the Sea.") In any case, like
101 Zacatula, it appears too far east on the accompanying map.

Citlaltomaua was eight leagues from the sea, seven from Coyuca
491 de Benítez (d) and seventeen "leguas de muy malos caminos de Acapulco, azia el sueste." It lay to the south of the high and broken mountains of the Tlacatepetl. Two leagues below it a river was formed which emptied "en la mar del sur en la playa que dizen de Coyuca." An estancia of Citlaltomaua, the only one of these names (except for the sierra of Tlacatepetl) which can be found today, lay about "una legua hazia el nascimiento del sol." This was called Tepetiztla (c)[5] and appears as "Tepetixtla" on some maps today, others giving it as "Tepetlixpa."

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[1] *PNE*, 6: 158.
[2] *PNE*, 6: 165.
[3] *PNE*, 6: 160.
[4] *PNE*, 1: No. 854.
[5] *PNE*, 6: 155–159.

Coyucac is probably not the Coyuca de Benítez of today, but the one 132 described by Xuarez as twenty-five leagues from Zacatula, near the 131 sea, and adjacent to Axapoteca[7] (which in turn is adjacent to Xolochiuyan and Panotlan, *q.v.*).[8] This is the only Coyuca he describes in his report on his tour of the coast. Today it is called Coyuquilla.

Nochcoc is certainly the present Nuxco, also described by Xuarez.[9]

Panotlan is mentioned by Xuarez both as "Panutla" and as "Pamutla."[10] He places it at thirty leagues from the Villa and one league from the sea, confining with Çihautlan and Nochcoc. This rules out the present Pantla, west of the Río Ixtapa.

Petlatlan is one of the few surviving names, appearing today as Petatlán. It is given by Xuarez as twenty leagues from the Villa.[11]

Xihuacan has vanished. Xuarez places it nineteen leagues from the Villa and adjacent to Petlatlan and Cihuatanejo—both well-established places. He adds, "tiene en su termino una laguna de mucha pezqueria y donde se haze sal en cantidad."[12] This salty lagoon suggests the Salinas de Potosí, southwest of Petatlán on the "Millionth Map."

Xolochiuhyan, described by Xuarez as "Solochuca" and also as "Cholochuca"[13] and placed twenty-two leagues from the Villa, near the sea, has become Jolochuca of today, another of the towns of this province which may be definitely localized.

According to the writer's chronological study and the "Relación de 175 Zacatula," Xolochiuhyan was the scene of Ahuizotl's first break-through to the coast and became his "frontier"—against whom, is doubtful.

Yztapan is given as the name of two towns by Xuarez. One[14] belonged to the encomendero, Anton Sánchez the younger, and was seventeen leagues from the Villa. The other, belonging to His Majesty, was thirteen leagues from the Villa,[15] close to the sea, and two leagues from the "Puerto de Çiguatanejo." Thus the pueblo belonging to

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[7] *PNE,* 1: No. 900.

[8] *PNE,* 1: No. 899.

[9] He gives it as 33 leagues from the Villa. *PNE,* 1: No. 903.

[10] *PNE,* 1: Nos. 900 and 902.

[11] *PNE,* 1: No. 896.

[12] *PNE,* 1: No. 895.

[13] *PNE,* 1: Nos. 897 and 898.

[14] *PNE,* 1: No. 879.

[15] *PNE,* 1: No. 892.

632 131 Sánchez was right at the Bay of Cihuatenejo, and it appears there in a manuscript map of *circa* 1760.[26] The other pueblo, His Majesty's, appears on the "Guerrero State Map" of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento, being situated on the Río Rincon. By means of the Salinas de Camotlán, which appear on both this latter map and the "Millionth Map," we see that this Río Rincon is the Río Ixtapan of the "Millionth Map," though the pueblo is omitted here. It is this Ixtapan belonging to His Majesty which has been selected as probably identical with the pre-Hispanic town, both because it gave its name to the Río and Punta de Iztapa (a), a promontory which may be found on most maps, and because it was reserved for His Majesty, a fact implying a special desirability and importance.

Çacatulan lay one league south of modern Zacatula, near the mouth [10] of the Río de las Balsas. (On the accompanying map, it appears too far east.)

Çihuatlan (Çiguatlan de Salzedo and Panotlan), which gave its name to the province, is missing from all available maps. It might have been any of three vanished towns, but the one which seems most probable is Çiguatlan de Salzedo. This lay thirty leagues from Zacatula, near the sea, and bordering Pamutla and Nusco—the modern Nuxco, near Tecpan. Çiguatlan and Panutla, or Pamutla, lay on the same river five leagues from Tecpan.[27] Judging by the distances east of Zacatula assigned to other localizable towns (Jolochuca, 22; Coyuca—Coyuquilla—28; Nuxco, 33; and Tecpan, 35), this river is the modern San Luís. Çiguatlan de Salzedo may be San Luís de la Loma today. In any case, according to the relación of Zacatula, Çiguatlan was divided from Panotlan only by a river ("entre estos dos pueblos está el río"). For that reason, it has been given the same number, 9.

Çiguatlan de Salzedo lay right in the middle of the province, which is the writer's reason for identifying it as the old cabecera, despite the claims of two remoter homonyms.[28]

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[26] Bancroft Library, University of California, MS map F 1226 176–, G. 9. The author is Santos Alonso Guerra.

[27] "Relación de Zacatula," *Tlalocan*, 2: 261; *PNE* (*Suma*), 1: No. 901.

[28] The other possibilities are Çigua (*PNE*, 1: No. 864) and Çiguatlan de Su Magestad (*PNE*, 1: No. 883). Çigua extended between Zacatula and the sea. Çiguatlan de Su Magestad lay seventeen leagues from the Villa and four from the sea. (It bordered

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—There is little material available on the 197
languages, although Zacatula is said to have been "idioma por si,"[19] and in the northeastern prolongation Tepuzteco was spoken by the people of Citlaltomaua and Anecuilco. The inhabitants called them- [101]
selves Tepuztecas, which meant "people from a place of abundant copper."[20] Other Tepuzteco villages are noted in the section on Tepequacuilco, below. It will be observed that this Tepuzteco is adjacent to the equally unknown Yope. In Tepetiztla and other near-by places, however, a tongue that was not Tepuzteco was spoken.[21] Between the western and eastern extremes of this province there may well have been intrusions of Tarascan and Cuitlatec, presumed to have been spoken along the northwest and northeast, in territory extending as far as the borders of Tepuzteco. (It is reported that there was a region of mingled Cuitlatec and Tepuzteco five leagues west of Citlaltomaua.)[22]

Besides Tepuzteco and Cuitlatec, a mosaic of vanished languages underlay the (pre-Mexican) Nahuatl of the province, according to the "Relación de Zacatula." The data of this relación are presented acceptably on Brand's map.

Of Cuitlatec a few fragments have been preserved, owing to the initiative of P. R. Hendrichs. It is definitely stated that this language was spoken in Axochitlan, and it still survives faintly in the memory

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Coyutla and Piquitla [*PNE*, 1: No. 877]; the latter lay one and one-half leagues from [632
the sea and fourteen from Zacatula, in the mountains of southern Michoacan). Against Çigua are two facts: It lay at the far border of the known towns of the province, and it 131]
had only eleven Indians in Xuarez' time. However, the Conquest was severe and it did join colonially important Zacatula and the vast archaeological zone of Melchor Ocampo (*Tlalocan*, 2: 259, notes 3 and 4). Against Çiguatlan de Su Magestad is its even greater distance from the rest of the known province. However, it was obviously an important town, since it was set aside for the Crown, and the colonial province of the Motines de Zacatula, according to the relación, reached nearly to Pómaro, Michoacan. Cihuatanejo itself is of course a fourth possibility, since the *-ejo* ending is Spanish. The whole problem is one which cannot be solved dogmatically at present.

[19] García Icazbalceta, ed., [Primera] *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858–1866), 2: 592.

[20] "'Jentes que binieron de algun lugar de muncho hierro' o 'jentes de hierro'" (*PNE*, 6: 158). Cf. glyph of Tepoztlan (Morelos): a copper hatchet.

[21] *PNE*, 6: 158.

[22] In a town called Chiantepec, Cuitlatec territory began, "aunque entre ellos hay pueblos que hablan la misma lengua tepuzteca" (*PNE*, 6: 165).

197 of a few old people of Totolapan (San Miguel). According to the "Relación de Citlaltomáua,"[27] the area in which Cuitlatec was spoken extended in the southeast as far as vanished Chiantepec,[28] and fragments have been recorded by Weitlaner in coastal Atoyac.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The borders of Çihuatlan are as unclear as its linguistic features. Zacatula must have represented approximately the westerly outpost. Somewhere in the pathless mountains all along the north of Çihuatlan was the border between this province and the [101] Tarascans and Cuitlatec. (The Cuitlatec seem to have been an entity distinct from both their powerful neighbors, Mexican and Tarascan.) A slender link through Otlatlan (modern Otatlán), in the fellow-tributary province of Tepequacuilco, bound Çihuatlan to the Empire, and to the east lay the never-subdued Yopes.[29]

TRIBUTE

651 In the records of tribute presented for this and the following thirty-seven provinces, the frequency of payment is indicated as follows: one asterisk, annual; two asterisks, semiannual. The few quarterly payments ("de ochenta en ochenta días") are noted.

Tribute of the whole province.—According to the *Matricula* page and its copy in the *Mendocino,* the following items of tribute were exacted from the province of Çihuatlan:

CLOTHING**

[291] 1,616 bundles[30] of large orange mantles
2,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth

FOOD**

[245] 80 loads of cacao bermejo

OTHER GOODS**

[248] 400 bundles of cotton
[136] 800 red seashells, like scallops

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[28] See the preceding note. On Cuitlatec see Hendrichs, "Un estudio preliminar sobre la lengua cuitlateca de San Miguel Totolapan, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 329–362; Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *ibid.*, pp. 297–328, notes; and McQuown, "La fonémica del cuitlateco," *ibid.* (1941), 5: 239–254.

[29] See section on Tepequacuilco, below.

[30] The *Mendocino* résumé, in Spanish, has been followed throughout this study as a convenient guide on tribute. There are slight inaccuracies in the version it gives of numbers, however; the figures representing single units are consistently overlooked. Here I have corrected the figure from the erroneous "1,600."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Tribute of the component towns.—In view of the poor documentation on this whole province, all that can be gleaned concerning the tribute of the component towns is that Anecuilco and Citlaltomaua gave slaves, who were, of course, captives taken in border skirmishes (as noted in the tribute list for Zompanco in the province of Tepequacuilco), mantles, and gold dust.[30] 651

2. Tepequacuilco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the fifteenth page of the *Matricula*, copied as folio 37' of the *Codex Mendocino*, are listed the tributary towns of a province situated in what is now north-central Guerrero. They are headed by Tepequacuilco, which is the only town identified in roman letters in the original document, although the *Mendocino* copy identifies all. There are fourteen towns listed in the copy; the original, however, lacks the glyphs for Teloloapan and Chilacachapan, which have been mysteriously erased. The American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," has served for the reconstruction of this province. Original and present place names appear below: 635 114

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Alahuiztlã, 21	Alahuistlán
Atenanco, 8	Atengo del Río
Cocolan, 13	Cocula
Cueçalan, 7	Cuetzala
Chilacachapã, 12	Chilicachapa
Chilapan, 4	Chilapa
Huitzoco, 16	Huitzuco
Ohuapã, 6	Oapan
Oztoma, 19	[Missing]
Teloloapan, 11	[No change]
Tepequacuilco, 15	Tepecoacuilco
Tlachmalacac, 18	Tlaxmalac
Ychcateopã, 20	Ixcateopan
Yoallan, 17	Iguala

All these towns have been located. To them we may add a series of border towns of lesser tributary importance, and therefore omitted 635

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[30] "Al rrey que era de Mexica ... le dauan esclavos e mantas e oro en polvo que sacauan y lavaban de los rrios a ellos cercanos." It is said, absurdly enough, that "los esclavos que ellos dauan al dicho Monteçuma eran para que los dichos Mexicanos comyesen" (*PNE*, 6: 158).

635 from the *Mendocino*. These lay along the insecure west, where memories of internecine strife mingled with that of the prevailing war against Michoacan. The relaciones made to Philip II in the 1580's [103] authorize the addition of these six towns: Otlatlan (1),[27] now Otatlán; Tenepantla (9), now Tlanipatlán;[28] Tetela (5),[29] now Tetela del Río; Tlacotepec (2);[30] Totoltepec (10);[31] and Zompanco (3), now Zumpango del Río.[32]

[175] Tonalli imoquetzayan (22)—a conquest of Tizoc—seems to be the modern Tonaliquizaya, and Brand's map adds Tlatlaya (23) as a Mexican frontier post.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632' *Atenanco* is one of the vacillating name forms like the equally common "Tetela." It is described, not very helpfully, in the sixteenth century, as being "junto a Taxco."[33] Though the "Millionth Map" gives it as "Atengo del Río," the Agricultura y Fomento atlas gives "Atenango del Río" in the same location. Moreover, a sixteenth-century relación[34] gives Atenango as northeast of Huitzoco.

Oztoma no longer exists, but colonial "Oztuma," which stood near the original town, left a relación which helps to locate it,[35] and a modern investigator informs us that the site is "located twenty-three miles west of Teloloapan, Guerrero, in the municipality of Acapetlahuaya,"[36] names which appear on the "Millionth Map."

Totoltepec is a ubiquitous and trouble-making name. There were famous homonyms, especially, in Hidalgo and southern Oaxaca, which are constantly confused. Del Paso y Troncoso sought to avoid ambiguity among the many Totoltepecs, ancient and modern, by calling

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[27] "Eran de Moteçuma … y le trebutavan" (*PNE*, 6: 128).

[28] *PNE*, 6: 144: "los sujetaron los mexicanos."

[29] *PNE*, 6: 133: "Le serbian [al rey de México] en la gerra que tenyan con los de Mechoacan y con los de Ajuchitlan."

[30] *PNE*, 6: 123: "Un rrei de México les bino a conquistar y allanar, con los quales tuvieron su gerra asta que los conquistaron, y Moteçuma envió un capitan … para que los gobernase."

[31] *PNE*, 6: 149: "[En] tienpo del rrey de Mexico llamado Ajayacatzin tuvo gerra con ellos hasta que les sujeto."

[32] *PNE*, 6: 317: "Estavan subjetos a Monteçuma."

[33] *PNE*, 1: No. 90.

[34] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 224.

[35] *PNE*, 6: 113: "En otro tiempo estubo poblado en un peñol ques enespunable y muy fuerte."

[36] Lister, "Cerro Oztuma, Guerrero," *El México Antiguo* (1941), 5: 210. See also Hendrichs "¿Es al Arco de Oztuma de construcción Azteca?" *ibid.* (1940), 5: 142–147.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

the one we refer to "Totoltepec de Guerrero," but alas! there are two c.32
even in Guerrero, the other being an estancia of Ayutla, now called Tutepec.[57]

Yoallan is the conspicuous variant in our list of names. This has become the modern Iguala. In the *Relación de Iguala* of 1579 we read: "Iguala en lengua castellana quiere decir escuridad."[58] "Escuridad" 103
(*oscuridad*) is the meaning of Yoallan, as we see in the glyph of the town: a circle studded with "stellar eyes." The Náhuatl root is *yoalli*, "night."

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Of the people, Sahagún writes that they 197
speak Mexican and are rich.[59] Tlachmalacac is the most northerly town 101
specified to be "en la provincia que se dice Cuixco,"[60] but the Coixcatlalpan—as it was called—must have stretched even farther in that direction, since the Coixca joined Malinalco in an attack upon the Cuauhnahuac [Cuernavaca] after the latter's surrender to Cortés.[61] And to the east it must have extended beyond Tlalcoçauhtitlan in the adjacent province of that name. The latter town again is the last of which it is stated that "esta tierra se llama Coyscatlalpa y la lengua es coysca,"[62] but the people of distant Texaluca in southwest Puebla re- 175
membered in 1580 that they had served their Mexican masters by going to war against the "provinçia de Coyxco."[63]

Other towns of our province listed as speaking Cohuixca in the 197
1580's are Yoallan,[64] Cocolan,[65] Mayanala (14),[66] and Huitzoco.[67] Since

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[57] *PNE*, 1: No. 28.

[58] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

[59] "Estos couixcas y tlapanecas son unos que a uno solo le llaman couixcatl y tlapanécatl, y están poblados en Tepequacuilco y Tlachmalacac, en la provincia de Chilapan, los cuales hablan lengua mexicana, y son ricos" (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 133).

[60] *GPM*, p. 105.

[61] "Los naturales de una población que se dice Cuarnaguacar [*sic*] que eran sujetos á la cuidad y se habian dado por nuestros amigos, vinieron al real y dijeronme cómo los de la poblacion de Marinalco, que eran sus vecinos, les hacian mucho daño, y les destruian su tierra, y que agora se juntaban con los de la provincia de Coisco, ques grande, y querian venir sobre ellos a los matar porque se habian dado por vasallos de V.M. y nuestros amigos" (Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* [1866], p. 235).

[62] *PNE*, 5: 249.

[63] *PNE*, 5: 86.

[64] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

[65] *GPM*, p. 98.

[66] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 223: "Es lengua casi mexicana que se escrive."

[67] *Ibid.*, p. 224.

197 Chilapan is given in Sahagún as Cohuixca, and elsewhere as "lengua mexicana ... no tan pulida,"[78] and since the latter source uses the same words for the speech of Zompanco,[79] Zompanco may be classified with the Cohuixca towns.[80]

[114] Ample texts from the Cohuixca are preserved in the seventeenth-century "Tratado de las Supersticiones ... " of Ruíz de Alarcón.

So much for the linguistic situation in the east. The northwesterly towns of the province of Tepequacuilco were mostly Chontal-speaking: the Chontal were the aborigines there,[81] against whom war was still being waged in 1519. These Chontal towns were Alahuiztlan,[82] Ychcateopan,[83] Oztoma,[84] Totoltetec,[85] and—in earlier times, at least—Cueçalan.[86] Further material on these Chontales de Guerrero is given in the section on Tlachco.

Between the Cohuixca and Chontal regions, south of Iguala, tongues called Matlame and Tuxteco were spoken, according to an unpublished map by Paul Kirchoff.[87]

It was in the southwest part of the province that this linguistic complexity reached its peak. Tetela was Cuitlatec in speech.[88] South of Tetela the utterly mysterious and vanished [?] Tepuzteco was spoken in Otlatlan and Tlacotepec.[89]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The frontier to the west may be rather
131 precisely delimited, since we have evidence from a long chain of fron-
632 tier towns. Let us examine them from north to south.

Alahuiztlan, in the north, used to send help down to the famous garrison town of Oztoma: food and arms and troops.[90] Alahuiztlan

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[78] *PNE*, 5: 176.

[79] *PNE*, 6: 315.

[80] Cf. "lengua casi mexicana," n. 46 above.

[81] *PNE*, 6: 143: "Son los antiguos de la tierra."

[82] *PNE*, 6: 100.

[83] *PNE*, 6: 89.

[84] *PNE*, 6: 106.

[85] *PNE*, 6: 149.

[86] *PNE*, 6: 138.

[87] Cited by Weitlaner, "Chilacachapa y Tetelcingo," *El México Antiguo* (1941), 5: 256. Weitlaner's text also speaks of Texome in this area.

[88] *PNE*, 6: 132. On Cuitlatec, see section on Çihuatlan.

[89] *PNE*, 6: 128 (and p. 123, which remarks that the people of Tlacotepec called themselves "Tepegua"). On Tepuzteco, see section on Çihuatlan.

[90] "Despues que fueron suxetos a Moteçuma y reyes de Mexico tenian la dicha gerra con los de Mechoacan; por mandado de los dichos rreyes de Mexico acudian con bastimentos y armas y ayuda, quando era menester, al fuerte que Motetzuma tenya en Oztuma" (*PNE*, 6: 102).

Alahuiztlan

had a small town subject to it which was called Iztapa. This guarded 632 a salt mine, well-fortified, from the Tarascans." Nevertheless, there [317] is no salt from this province in the tribute list. 131

Oztoma itself held the great border fortress of the region, built after [712] the arrival of the Mexicans, to serve as a protection from the people of Michoacan." The remains of this fort have recently been investigated and described.

Oztoma figures in the *Mendocino* (folio 18ʳ) as one of the garrison towns, under two nameless governors, a "tlacochtectli" and a "tlacatecatl"; and Bernal Díaz refers to Oztuma when, speaking of the garrisons, he cites "... otra capitania En lo de mechuacan ..." (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], 1: 302; see fuller quotation of this passage in note 1 under Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco Province, p. 128).

Totoltepec was another frontier town, which, besides sustaining a [712] local Mexican garrison, had to send aid to Oztoma."

Cueçalan, in turn, was actively at war with Apaztla (a) when the Spaniards came.

Tetela lay west again, and fought against the Michoaque and the Cuitlatec of Axochitlan."

Otlatlan had not been in Mexican hands long enough for quarrels [648] with certain of its fellow subjects to have been erased—quarrels originating, perhaps, when parts of the province were subdued and other parts were still resisting." Nothing is said of the war with Michoacan

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PNE, 6: 105. Iztapa is also listed in *PNE*. 1: No. 7. This is not, of course, the famous and redundantly named Iztapan de la Sal of the State of Mexico.

A group of Mexican warriors came "con mandato que ... biesen y myrasen a donde podian poblar y açer vn fuerte, de manera questiviese xente en el de guarnyçion contra los de Mechoacan, el qual ... hizieron, y tan fuerte, que para ellos se tenya por [in]espunable ... era la mas prencipal fuerça que los mexicanos tenyan en todas las fronteras de Mechoacan" (*PNE*, 6: 110). Moedano Kerr, "Estudio general sobre la situación de la fortaleza de Oztuma," *Vigesimoseptimo Congreso Internacional de Americanistas, actas de la primera sesión, celebrado en la ciudad de México en 1939* (1942), 1: 557–563; and Armillas, "Oztuma, Gro.," *RMEA* (1944), 6: 165–174.

By Hendrichs, "¿Es el Arco de Oztuma de construcción Azteca?" *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 142–147, and Lister, *op. cit.*

"Estavan en frontera con los de Mechoacan y sustentaban los soldados que alli tenian, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztuma" (*PNE*, 6: 149). "Trayan gerra con los de Mechoacán y Ajuchytlan" (*PNE*, 6: 150).

"Estando en la gerra de Apaztla, llegó el Marques del Balle a México" (*PNE*, 6: 141).

"Trayan gerra con los de Mechoacan y Axuchitlan" (*PNE*, 6: 134).

"Trayan gerra con los yndios de Tlacotepeque y Tetela" (*PNE*, 6: 129).

635 and its fellow Cuitlatec of the west, but we have seen that "eran de
632 Moteçuma," being, indeed, a link with the uttermost western hinter-
131 land, the provice of Çihuatlan.

Tlacotepec warred with southern neighbors on the coast,[68] among them Tecpan—this latter, presumably, ceasing to be an enemy when it was subjugated to form part of the province of Çihuatlan.

Zompanco and Chilapan were strong-points on the Yope frontier.[69]

Just south of Chilapa lies Quecholtenanco, a garrison town whose
[712] glyph is in both the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* (fol. 17ʳ) accompanied by the head of one "Mixcoatl, tlacatectli governador."

Regional names.—The whole eastern part of this former province was known as Coixcatlalpan,[70] "que quiere decir Tierra de Lagartijas porque ay muchas."[71]

651

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The original *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy specify the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291]
- 402 bundles[72] of mantles *colchadas* **
- 402 bundles of mantles striped black and white**
- 400 bundles of rich mantles (the drawing is of a Tlaloc-head decoration)**
- 400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
- 400 bundles of little white mantles**
- 1,600 bundles of large mantles**

[714]
- 22 warriors' costumes (20 of the common "Huaxteca" armor and 2 special pieces: one Tiger Knight and one with *quetzalpatzactli* headdress)*

FOOD

[262]
- 4 *troxes* (wooden cribs), 1 each of maize, beans, *huauhtli*, and *chian**

[263]
- 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

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[68] *PNE*, 6: 124: "trayan gerra con los de la costa, que era los pueblos de Tequepa, Acamalutla, Temazcaltepec y otros pueblos." Tequepa (*PNE*, 1: No. 904) "parte terminos con Nuxco," hence is the present Tecpan.

[69] *PNE*, 6: 318 and 5: 178. On the Yope, see Ortega, "Extensión y límites de la Provincia de los Yopes ... ," *El México Antiguo* (1940), 5: 48–53.

[70] *PNE*, 5: 249.

[71] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 221.

[72] The figures for this and the following item are corrected from the erroneous 400 of the *Mendocino* annotation.

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651
301
314
323
325

OTHER GOODS

5 strings of *chalchiuites**
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal and burners (quarterly)
400 baskets of refined copal (quarterly)
1,200 yellow-colored clay vessels (quarterly)
100 little copper hatchets (quarterly)

Tribute of the component towns.—Some idea of the way in which this burden was shared may be gathered from the following details. 651 632

Alahuiztlan "davan de trebuto mantas, maiz, chian."[73]

Cueçalan gave chalchiuites annually (the string listed above?), besides mantles and other things.[74]

Chilapan gave maize, chile, and animals important for religious reasons (ocelots and eagles).[75]

Otlatlan gave cotton mantles, delivering them directly to Mexico,[76] instead of to a local depot.

Oztoma, being obliged to support the local Mexican garrison, seems to have given nothing more.

Teloloapan gave clothing of various sorts and a mineral dyestuff called "tlalcozahuitl."[77] 386

Tepequacuilco—as might be expected of the eponymous town—was the presidio from which most of this tribute was gathered.[78] In colonial times, Tepequacuilco became a famous mining center, and indeed, it lost its importance only when the railroad reached Iguala.

Totoltepec is said to have been another nontributary, like Oztoma, because of the garrison, but it still thought it expedient to send its overlords "gifts" of mantles, chalchiuites, and copper.[79]

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[73] *PNE*, 6: 102.

[74] "Cada vn año vna esmeralda berde que llaman ellos chalchihuitl, dauanle mantas y otras cosas que tenyan" (*PNE*, 6: 140).

[75] "A Moteçuma ... le servia de llevalle algunos tigres y aguilas, algun mahiz y chile en recognoçimiento" (*PNE*, 5: 178). Eagles were the sole tribute of the northern frontier province of Oxitipan.

[76] "Era de Moteçuma ... y le trebutavan mantas de algodon, y ellos mysmos se las levavan a Mexico" (*PNE*, 6: 128).

[77] "Trebutavan ... mantas y guaipiles y naguas y mantillas delgadas, y tlalcozahuitl que s una arenilla para hazer color amarilla, y otros colores, las quales buscaban para llevar a exico con el tributo, por sus tercios" (*PNE*, 6: 146).

[78] "Tenian los señores de Mexico en este pueblo en tiempo de su gentilidad presidio de ente de guarnicion que cobravan los tributos: y recojian de toda la cuisca que eran antas y algodon y otras cosas" (*Relación de Iguala* [1931], p. 223).

[79] "No llevava trebuto por questavan en frontera con los de Mechoacan y sustentaban s soldados que alli tenian, mexicanos, y en el fuerte de Oztuma, y ... algunas vezes del ño enbiaban presente a mexico de mantas y piedras verdes y 'hierro colorado' ques bre" (*PNE*, 6: 149).

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651
632 Tlacotepec gave "seeds" (chian ?) among other items, which are not specified.[illegible]

[567
721] Zompanco sent prisoners of war to Mexico as slaves.[illegible] These must have been Yope prisoners, destined to be sacrificed, like those sent from Anecuilco in the province of Çihuatlan. Prisoners taken on the Oztoma frontier were usually sacrificed in the temple of the fortress, we learn, but if captives were important, they were sent to Mexico to be sacrificed.[illegible]

3. TLACHCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635
131 The province of Tlachco, now Taxco, is depicted on the fourteenth page of the *Matricula*, copied on folio 36' of the *Codex Mendocino*. This province was situated in territory now forming the northern tip of the State of Guerrero and contained ten towns. Whereas the *Matricula* annotator identified only the town of Tlachco, the *Mendocino* identifies all towns in roman letters. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Former and present place names as given in the *Mendocino* and on the modern map are listed below:

[illegible]

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acamilyxtlahuacā, 6	Acamixtla
Chontalcoatlan, 9	[No change]
Nochtepec, 7	Noxtepec
Teotliztacan, 2	Huiztac
Tetenanco (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teticpac, 8	Tetipac
Tlachco, 3	Taxco Viejo
Tlamacazapā, 4	Tlamacazapa
Tzicapuçalco, 1	Ixcapuzalco

One town has not been identified: Tepexahualco.

We may add the town of Çacualpā (10).

[illegible] "Moteçuma enbio un capitan ... para que coxiese el tributo y semyllas que le trebutavan" (*PNE*, 6: 123).

[illegible] "Estavan subjetos a Montecçuma ... y le serbia este pueblo de llevarle esclavos de los [que] tomavan en la guerra, y que est ɔ le llevavan en rreconoçimiento" (*PNE*, 6: 317).

[illegible] "Relación de Acapetlahuaya" (1579), in *PNE*, 6: 117: "Dixeron que todos los presos que tomavan los sacrificaron en el templo prençipal del fuerte grande, y si era persona prençipal la que prendian la enbiauan a Mexico presentada a su rrey para que alla la sacrificasen."

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acamilyxtlahuacan apparently underwent the same sort of abbreviation which made "Amacusac" out of near-by "Amacoztitlan" in Quauhnahuac Province.[illegible] 632

Teotliztacan suffered the fate of other names bearing the prefix *teo-* from *teotl* ("divine, godly"), a sacrilege to Spanish ears. The partly synonymous *huey* ("great") supplanted the earlier prefix here.[illegible] In 1581, Teulistaca and Hueyztaca were used alternately;[illegible] since then, the name has atrophied unrecognizably to Huiztac.

Tetenanco. Although there is no modern mention of the town, this is presumably the Real and Pueblo of Tenango which existed close to the west of colonial Taxco. Its borders are given as Nochtepec, Ichcateopan, Tasco, Acamistlauacan, Coatlan, and Teticpac, which enables us to place it.[illegible] And the name Tenanco—often interchangeable with this common place name—appears in the *Codex Mendocino,* folio 7', as a conquest of Moctezuma I, who was prominent in the reduction of this area.

It may be remarked that both *Tenan*guillo and Cacalo*tenango* lie within the area mentioned.

Tlachco was not the modern Taxco de Alarcón, but somewhat south and lower, the present Taxco Viejo.

Tzicapuçalco was the same town as the present Ixcapuzalco, we learn from a relación of 1569. Anciently it bore still another name, "Pindexo," perhaps applied by the aboriginal Mazatecos who were established in the Chontal region here.[illegible]

Çacualpan was a conquest of Itzcoatl, according to the historical [175] section of the *Codex Mendocino,* and, as Itzacualpa, figures among the subject towns which received Ahuizotl after the conquest of Teloloapan (Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 528).

[illegible] On location, see *GPM,* p. 178; *PNE,* 1: No. 37 and 6: 269.

[illegible] *PNE,* 6: 270, has a note on such changes.

[illegible] The latter in *PNE,* 1: No. 273, which gives its boundaries, also given in *GPM,* p. 174.

[illegible] *PNE,* 1: No. 671: "junto a Tasco"; *ibid.,* 6: 266: "a la parte del occidente"; *ibid.,* 6: 275.

[illegible] *PNE,* 6: 94, which also provides its location. *Pindexo* is said to be the name of the [illegible] tree.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

191 101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The aborigines of the west of this province spoke "Chontal de Guerrero," a language which is commemorated in the place name Chontalcoatlan.[illegible] This little-known tongue is distinguished from Mexican, Matlatzinca, Mazatec, and Tarascan, all of which were spoken in the province,[illegible] and was still current in the late sixteenth century in Coatepec, Chontalcoatlan, and Teticpac,[illegible] as well as in towns of the adjacent province to the south.

131 635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Tlachco Province was a part of the Tarascan frontier. To its south lay the hot-country province of Tepequacuilco, and to its north, Ocuilan, both of these also western frontiers. On the east was opulent Quauhnahuac.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—It is clear from the *Matricula* that the rich silver mines of later fame were ignored by the Culhua Mexica. Tlachco was a second-rate province, as we see by the list of goods remitted:

CLOTHING

291 400 bundles of little cotton mantles, richly worked**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
248 1,206 bundles[illegible] of little mantles of soft henequen**
714 2 warriors' costumes (a *Huasteca* and a *quetzaltzitzimitl*)*

FOOD

262 2 wooden cribs, one of maize, the other of chian*
263 200 little jars of honey (quarterly)

OTHER GOODS (quarterly)

323 1,200 yellow pottery bowls
314 400 little baskets of copal for incense-burners
8,000 pellets of unrefined copal wrapped in palm leaves

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Tlachco itself is the only town for which itemized tribute data are available. It remitted men's cotton mantles (measurements are given) and women's skirts and blouses,

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[illegible] "Son los antiguos de la tierra" (*PNE*, 6: 143).
[illegible] *PNE*, 6: 265; *GPM*, p. 135.
[illegible] *PNE*, 6: 100, 118; *GPM*, p. 127.
[illegible] Corrected from 1,200.

one from each household. These mantles were paid locally on each of 651 632
the eighteen fiestas of the year. Maize for tribute was grown on special lands.[illegible]

4. OCUILAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 12 of the *Matricula* and on folio 34ʳ of the *Codex Mendocino* 635
appears the province of Ocuilan, which now forms part of the southern 114
portion of the State of Mexico. Only the *cabecera* is identified in the former document; the latter bears all names added in roman letters. The map which has been followed in restoring the province is the [128]
1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Original and present place names are listed below:

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Coatepec, 3	Coatepec Harinas
Ocuilan, 7	[No change]
Tenantzinco, 6	Tenancingo
Tequaloyan, 5	Tecualoya (Villa Guerrero)
Tonatiuhco, 4	Tonatico

One town remains to be located: Çincozcac.

To this list the two westerly towns of Zoltepec (2) and Temazcaltepec (1) have been added, on the authority of their sixteenth-century relaciones.[illegible]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Çincozcac is cited by Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 528) 632
as Zicozcatlan, a town figuring in Ahuizotl's Guerrero campaigns. 175 103

The proper form *Zoltepec*, from *zollin*, "quail," has been restored with the authority of these relaciones.[illegible]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Sahagún[illegible] tells us that "those who are 197
called Ocuiltecos live in the region of Toluca, on their lands and 101
boundaries. They have the same ways and customs of those of Toluca,

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[illegible] *PNE*, 6: 276: "Tributaban al rey de México y generalmente daban mantas de tres braças de largo y una bara de ancho, de algodon, y entre dos tributarios casados un guipil y unas enaguas .... Hazian una sementera grande entre todo el pueblo e lo que della cogian lo juntauan estos governadores y la dauan cada año a Monteçuma, y las mantas dauan de veynte a veynte dias."

[illegible] "Relación de Saltepec": "heran subjetos a los rreyes de México a los quales tributavan." "Relación de Temascaltepec": "eran en tiempo de su gentilidad subjetos a un señor de Mexico." *PNE*, 7: 11 and 20.

[illegible] *PNE*, 7: 101: "por las muchas codornices que ay se nombraron asi."

[illegible] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 128.

197 but their language is different. They used to practice curses and sorcery
[78º] very much." The Ocuiltec language is said by Ingeniero Weitlaner,
101 who rediscovered it, to be related to Matlatzinca and Otomí,"[illegible] spoken near by. Although the Ocuiltec language is supposed to be limited today to the village of Ocuilan and its environs, the writer has found a mysterious reference to it in a sixteenth-century document from the north of modern Hidalgo State."[illegible]

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—In the final native period the province
131 of Ocuilan, approximating a half-moon resting on its back, was bordered on the northwest by Tuluca, and on the northeast by Quahuacan and the Valley of Mexico. To the east lay Quauhnahuac, and to the south the small province of Malinalco and more sizable Tlachco. Ocuilan thrust out westward into the enemy lands of the Tarascans; Temazcaltepec and Zoltepec are spoken of as situated on the Tarascan frontier.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and *Mendocino* pages, Ocuilan gave the following tribute:

CLOTHING

[291 800 bundles of richly decorated little mantles of henequen**
248] 400 bundles of little cotton mantles decorated with sea shells**
400 bundles of little cotton mantles**
[714] 21 warriors' costumes with shields (one of the headdresses having the *quetzalpatzactli* form, and the rest Huaxteca)*

FOOD

[262 4 wooden cribs, 1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian*
263] 2,000 vessels of white salt**

632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Temazcaltepec alone gave mili-
651 tary help (not more than twenty men), two or three bundles of the
[291 above-mentioned mantles of henequen, intoxicating mushrooms (*teo-*
276 *nacatl*), kindling, and ink made from sap—all this "every time they
212 were asked."[illegible] No data are available on the tribute of other component
137] towns individually.

[illegible] Weitlaner, "Beitrag zur Sprache der Ocuilteca," *El México Antiguo* (1939), 4: 297–328.

[illegible] In Tlachinolticpac, *PNE*, 3: 130.

[illegible] *PNE*, 7: 20: "Tributavanle cada ves que se lo pedian dos y tres cargas de mantas de nequen, que se haze de un arbol que se llama maguei, y davan ongos con que senbo-

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

5. Tuluca

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Page 11 of the *Matricula* and folio 33ʳ of the *Codex Mendocino* contain 635
the province of Tuluca, which is now part of the State of Mexico north 114
and east of the Nevado de Toluca (Zinantecatl). In the *Matricula* these towns are identified in roman letters, one of the names disagreeing with the version given in the *Mendocino* annotations, which are also present for every town glyph. This divergence is noted below. The present map is based on the 1:200,000 map of the "Estado de México," Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1927). Below are the *Mendocino* names and modern names, in so far as the latter appear on the 1927 map: 103

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Cacalomaca, 6	Cacalomacán
Calimayan, 8	[No change]
Calixtlahuacā, 2	Calixtlahuaca
Metepec, 5	[No change]
Mitepec, 7	Tlacotepec
Teotenanco, 10	Tenango (del Valle)
Tepemaxalco, 9	[Missing]
Tuluca, 3	Toluca
Xicaltepec, 1	[Missing]
Çoquitzinco, 11	Xoquicingo

Two towns remain to be identified: Capulteopan and Tepetlhuiacan. 103
Tzinacantepec (4) has been added to these. It was conquered with 175
the rest of the province, according to the conquest lists of Axayacatl. 167
Another source adds that most of the inhabitants of Tzinacantepec fled to Michoacan, to a place called Tlaulan, the remaining folk making a special milpa in the service of their new master."[illegible]

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rrachan y ocote, ques tea para alumbrarse, y tinta hecha del zuma del ocote que se llama en su lengua ocodili."

[illegible] "Los de Zinacantepec ... se fueron á Mechuacán, adonde ahora llaman Tlaulan, y así quedaron en la obediencia del Señor de México, y tomó para sí todas las tierras, y las arrendaba, y repartió algunas, y por ellas le pagaban tributo. Demás de ésto todos los matalcincos que quedaron hacían una sementera para el Señor de México, que tenía ochocientas brazas en largo y cuatrocientas en ancho" (Zurita, "Breve y sumaria relación de los señores," in García Icazbalceta, ed., *Nueva Colección* ... [1858–1866], III: 221). The exiles in Tlaulan felt the yoke of their persecutors again, for the year following the accession of Tizoc, the Mexicans "hicieron la fiesta en el templo de Huitzilopochtli con la sangre de los Matalcingos y los de Tlaula" ("Historia de los mexicanos por sus pinturas," in García Icazbalceta, ed., *ibid.*, p. 253).

103 Valle de Bravo (12) and Villa Victoria (13) have likewise been added.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 [114] *Mitepec* is given in the usually reliable *Mendocino* interpretation, but no trace of such a town has been found. On the other hand, "Tlacotepec" (the *Matricula* version) is well known, and appears in the conquest lists of Axayacatl, who took all of this region. Tlacotepec, therefore, has been placed on the map.

Teotenanco retained its name as late as 1582, as we see in the relación of that year.[100] Most of these *teo-* prefixes have been dropped, or supplanted by *huey-*, as remarked above.[101]

Tepemaxalco appears in 1582 as a town a league north of Teotenanco.[102] In the 1921 census it figures as a pueblo of the Municipio de San Antonio la Isla. However, only the latter (as La Isla) is on the 1927 map.

Valle de Bravo has been added from Brand's Tarascan map.

Villa Victoria is likewise added from Brand.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 197 782 [103] *Inhabitants and languages.*—The name of the province (Matlatzinca) and its people (who did not speak Mexican, but an Otomían language) seems to have come from *matlatl*, "net." Sahagún tries out various etymologies[103] and finally decides that "they are called net [people] . . . because when they sacrificed anyone to their idol they threw him into a net, and there twisted and squeezed him in the said net until his intestines came out." The Matlatzinca are sometimes included among the Eight Tribes whom the Culhua Mexica met at the start of their migration. Matlatzinca-speakers were scattered far into Michoacan, where the village of Charo, northeast of Morelia, was still called San Miguel de Charo Matlatzinco in the eighteenth century. Westerly contacts and migrations were continued in the latter part of the fifteenth century, as has been mentioned above. The most southerly point in which the Matlatzinca have been noted by the writer is Cocolan, in the province of Tepequacuilco, where their tongue was spoken jointly with Cohuixco in the 1580's.[104]

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[100] *PNE*, 7: 1–7.

[101] See p. 23 above.

[102] *PNE*, 7: 4.

[103] *Op. cit.*, III: 127.

[104] *Relación de Iguala* (1931), p. 222.

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Tuluca was a frontier against Michoacan all along its western side. It was during their expansion into this region that the Mexica met one of their few outstanding defeats, being thrown back after penetrating to the shores of Lake Cuitzeo. To the north lay the province of Xocotitlan (a single town and its tributaries); to the east, that of Quahuacan, long Mexicanized; and to the south, Ocuilan, which was separated from Tuluca by the mountain of the icy and sacred lake, the Zinantecatl, now called Nevado de Toluca. 635 131

Regional names.—The province of Tuluca was called the Matlatzinca[n] as far west as Temazcaltepec.[illegible] Since this term is a rather familiar one, the exact boundaries which it includes have not been investigated here. 635

TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Tuluca gave the following tribute, according to the *Matricula* and its *Mendocino* copy:

CLOTHING

400 bundles of little white cotton mantles with decorated border** [291]
400 bundles of henequen mantles, with designs in red, black, and white**
1,200 bundles of white henequen mantles** [714]
22 warriors' costumes and shields, 2 of them of fine quality*

FOOD

6 wooden cribs, 2 of maize, 2 of chian, 1 of beans, 1 of huauhtli* [262]

Tribute of the component towns.—Tzinacantepec's special milpa has been noted. No other information is available on this point. [632]

6. MALINALCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Two provinces are shown on the thirteenth page of the *Matricula*, which is copied as folio 35ʳ of the *Codex Mendocino*. The two sections are separated by a strong line in the original, but in the copy this is so weak as to be scarcely visible, and it apparently was not visible to the annotator. There is no question, however, that we are dealing with 635 114

[illegible] PNE 7: 16.

635 two distinct regions, for, as the map shows, they are separated by
114 various other provinces. One other page includes more than a single province, but there the provinces represent contiguous territories.[106] Here we are concerned with half the page: the province of Malinalco, which is shown on the left-hand side of the original and at the top of the copy. This province, containing two towns, is now a tiny segment of the State of Mexico, southeast of the Nevado de Toluca. The *Matricula* bears both names, written above the glyphs in roman letters, and disagrees with the *Mendocino* in regard to one form. The present
[126] map is based on that of the "Estado de México" in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento; the names of the towns as given in the atlas appear below, compared with those of the *Mendocino:*

[103]

MENDOCINO	ATLAS
Malinalco, 1	[No change]
Çonpahuacā, 2	Zumpahuacan

No towns have been added from other sources, although the subject towns of Malinalco in the sixteenth century are known and probably represent the old jurisdiction.[107]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Çonpahuacan* is given as "Tzonpanco" in the *Matricula* annotation.
114 The glyph may be read either way; the name of the modern town, however, confirms the *Mendocino* version.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

346 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Malinalco was a great religious center.
635 It is only recently that the temple there has been excavated. This is a complex structure cut from the living rock, unique in the New World, and in the Old World rivaled by only a few such structures in India. A shrine, entered through a semicircular arch—the open mouth of a stone serpent—is one of the spectacular features of these ruins, which may have been dedicated to the native Military Orders of the Eagle and Tiger Knights. The culture represented in the ruins of Malinalco

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[106] I.e., the huge provinces of eastern Guerrero given on p. 18 of the *Matricula* and on fol. 40ʳ of the *Mendocino.*

[107] *PNE,* 1: No. 346.

346

is attributed to the Matlatzinca,[illegible] although in 1791 the Matlatzinca 635 language is not mentioned in a "Descripción" of the place.[illegible] The religious importance of Malinalco is probably linked with an episode of 173 the migration story of the Mexican tribe. This is given in several variants, the gist of it being that Malinalxochitl, sister of the tribal god Huitzilopochtli, being a great sorceress, was such a plague to the migrating tribesmen that they abandoned her en route, while she slept. She settled then at Malinalco, and bore a son, whose later attempt to avenge the family honor is a part of the story of the foundation of Tenochtitlan. The ramifications of the name Malinalco lead also into a maze of calendaric ritual, for the sacred grass Malinali was the twelfth day-sign.

It has been noted[illegible] that Malinalco joined the northern Cohuixca 175 in attacking Quauhnahuac after the latter's surrender to the Spaniards.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Malinalco lay well embedded in the 635 Empire, with Ocuilan to the north and west, Quauhnahuac to the east 131 and south, and Tlachco to the south and west.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The annotations of the *Mendocino,* 651 which we are following for our summary of tribute, do not distinguish between what Malinalco paid and what its fellow, represented on the same page, paid. However, the pictures do show this distinction, and from them we gather that Malinalco Province paid the following:

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large mantles of soft henequen** [291]

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*[illegible] [262]

[illegible] Cf. Gamte, "The Recently Discovered Malinalco Ruins," *Mexican Art and Life,* No. 2 (April, 1938), and Larsen, "The Monolithic Rock Temple of Malinalco, Mexico," *Ethnos* (1938), 3: 59–63. García Payon's more complete report appeared recently ("Los monumentos arqueológicos de Malinalco ...," *RMEA* [1946], 8: 5–63).

[illegible] "Descripción topográfica de la jurisdicción Malinalco," dated July 13, 1791, at Tenancingo: "Los Yndios de toda esta Jurisdiccion hablan el Ydioma Mexicano, á excepcion de el Pueblo de San Juan Azingo, que para su govierno interior, conserban el *Ocuilteco,* de dificil comprehencion para los estraños."

[illegible] In the section on Tepequacuilco.

[illegible] To get this figure I have followed the *Mendocino* annotations, which specify 8 bins for Malinalco and the other province together. This I have divided equally, in view of the equal division of the bins as drawn in the picture.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date) 1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—If we allot the foregoing equally
632 between the two towns forming this province, we find that each must have contributed as much in produce as was collected from the whole province of Tlachco, in which there were nine towns, and that each must likewise have paid the equivalent of nearly one-third of the tribute in mantles collected from Tlachco Province.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

III. THE OLD TEPANEC DOMAIN

THE SEVEN PROVINCES which are considered next are linked historically 635
by having been subject to the Tepanec tribe before the 175
formation of the Empire of the Mexica. We know this because the major towns of these seven provinces are listed in a very early colonial document—which will be referred to repeatedly hereafter—as being former subjects of Tlacopan [Tacuba].[1] Tlacopan, of course, inherited these towns when the major Tepanec center of Azcapotzalco was wiped out, a century before Cortés, and brought them as her dowry to the new Triple Alliance. This early document is the only known record which approximates a tribute list of the Tepanec Empire. It is supported—though such support is really needless—by the relación of Tecpatepec (1579),[2] one of the towns of this region, which tells us that Tecpatepec was settled by a venturesome Indian of Azcapotzalco about 1370.

These seven provinces are not all the former Tepanec domain—we have statements from towns of the Toluca area which were included also[3]—but they seem to have formed the heart of it, and they embrace the region about which we may be most dogmatic. It is, on the whole, both physiographically and culturally, a geographical entity, a gateway and frontier of the Chichimeca.

7. QUAHUACAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Immediately to the west of Tlacopan, in the modern State of Mexico, 635
lay the province of Quahuacan. It is depicted on the tenth page of the 114
Matricula and on the copy of that page, folio 32ʳ of the *Codex Mendocino,* and includes thirteen towns. The present map is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento, the 1:100,000 map, "Valle [128]
de México" (1937), on which nine towns of this province have been located.

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[1] "Memorial de los pueblos subjetos a esta cabecera de tlacupan," published first in facsimile by Paso y Troncoso and printed in *ENE,* 14: 118.

[2] *PNE,* 6: 35.

[3] E.g., certain subjects of Teotenango: Atlatlauhca, Cepayauhtla, and Ciuhtepec. *GPM,* pp. 163–164.

103

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acaxochic, 6	Santa Fe
Ameyalco, 8	[No change]
Coatepec, 14	Coatepec Bateas
Chichicquautla, 4	Xochiquauhtla
Huizquilocan, 5	Huixquilucan
Quahuacan, 1	Cahuacan
Quauhpanoayā, 9	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tecpan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tlalatlauhco, 13	Xalatlaco

Two other towns have been found elsewhere: Huitziçilapa (3) and Tlalachco (?) (2).

Two towns of the tribute list have not been found: Chapolmoloyā and Ocotepec.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Acaxochic,* "que ahora es Santa Fé," is located on the authority of
131 Tezozomoc.[4] It lies southwest of Tacubaya.

Chichicquautla has become the modern Xochiquautla, between Huixquilucan and Toluca. The boundaries of "Chichiguautla" given in a sixteenth-century document confirm this identification.[5]

Huitzilçilapa, under the transitional form of "Vçiçilapa," is referred to in the sixteenth century as being adjacent to Tacuba and as having a barrio called Tamímilulpa[6]—which description applies perfectly to the Huitzilapan of the 1937 map.

Quauhpanoayan has vanished from the map. It was divided between two hills, one section being called San Joan Baptista and the other San Francisco. It was a league from Atlapulco (11), a league and a half from Capulhuac (12), "y de los otros dos á media legua." As one of "los otras dos" is known to have been Ocoyacac (10), Quauhpanoayan may be placed with fair accuracy.[7]

Tecpan has long since disappeared from the map. In the late sixteenth century, according to the 1579 map of Ortelius, it lay south of Teocalhuiacan and northeast of Mimimiyauuapan [*sic*]. Ortelius gives

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[4] *Crónica mexicana* (1878), p. 530.

[5] *PNE,* 1: No. 113, places it seven leagues from México and touching the jurisdictions of Tacuba, Toluca, and "Vçiçilapa."

[6] *PNE,* 1: No. 782.

[7] *GPM,* p. 232.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

the respective names as "Tequepa," "Teacalhu," and "Mimiapan."[8] 632
Since Tecpan was within the province of Quahuacan and lay on the 131
path of conquest between Quauhtitlan and Huitzilapan,[9] it is not difficult to place approximately.[10]

Tlalachco has also disappeared, though it survived in early colonial days as "Talasco"—a pueblo bordering the limits of Toluca[11] and Huitziçilapa.[12] Sr. Jiménez Moreno suggests that it be identified with Atarasquillo.

Tlalatlauhco I have identified with the modern Xalatlaco. Under the name of "Xalatlauhco" it appears in the conquest lists of Axayacatl, just preceding Quappanohuayan and Ocoyacac, both near neighbors, as we see. *Xalli*, "sand," and *tlalli*, "earth," are words that tend to become confused, as is evident in the ancient name form of Tlatelolco, which began as "Xaltelolco."[13]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—In the province of Quahuacan, Otomí[14] 635
and Matlatzinca[15] seem to have been the indigenous tongues of the 197
north and south respectively. Politically, the whole province was old 101
Tepanec territory.

Specifically mentioned among the towns subject to Tlacopan are: 635

Atlapulco, 11
Capulhuac, 12
Coatepec, 14
Cuauximalpan, 7
Chichicquauhtla, 4
Huizquilocan, 5
Tlalatlauhco, 13

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quahuacan was surrounded by other 635
Empire provinces—to the north Xocotitlan and Atotonilco, to the east 131
those of the Valley of Mexico, to the south Ocuilan, and to the west Tuluca.

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[8] These places are identified by the writer in his forthcoming chronological paper.

[9] Cf. preceding note.

[10] Tecpan is perhaps the original seat of the Tepaneca, who later ruled from Azcapotzalco.

[11] *PNE*, 1: No. 561.

[12] *PNE*, 1: No. 782.

[13] Cf. E. Mengin, ed., *Unos annales históricos de la nación mexicana* (1939); Vargas Rea, ed., *Cédula dada por el emperador Quauhtemotzin ... en 1523* (1943).

[14] *PNE*, 1: No. 782.

[15] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribucción prehispanica de las lenguas indigenas de México."

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid in pre-Conquest days by Quahuacan Province:

CLOTHING

[291 800 bundles of rich mantles**
714] 800 bundles of little mantles of henequen**
41 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS: TIMBER (quarterly)

[313] 1,200 large planks
1,200 large boards
1,200 poles (*quaumimilli,* morillos)

8. XOCOTITLAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 13 of the *Matricula* is divided into two sections, as has been
114 mentioned. The left-hand section contains the province of Malinalco,
175 the right-hand section that of Xocotitlan, with but a single town. The material concerning this one-town province is copied on the lower part of folio 35r of the *Codex Mendocino.* In both manuscripts, in addition to the glyph, its name appears in roman letters. Xocotitlan
[128] (1) is located on the authority of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México," where it is spelled Jocotitlán. It lies in the modern State of Mexico, at the foot of the peak also called Jocotitlán. With Xocotitlan has been placed the town of Xiquipilco (2), a vaunted conquest of the Mexicans.[26] Five estancias were subject to Xocotitlan in the mid-sixteenth century,[27] which probably were under its jurisdiction pre-Hispanically. If these estancias could be located, they would define the frontier a little more precisely.

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[26] Xocotitlan and Xiquipilco were conquered at the beginning of Axayacatl's reign, before the invasion of the Matlatzinca country, as the writer's forthcoming chronological study will show.

[27] *PNE,* 1: No. 799. These are Almolonga, Tlalchichilco, Tlamacuelpa, Tlalcuzpan, and Tlaxomulco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The inhabitants of present-day Xocotitlan 197
and Xiquipilco speak Mazahua and Otomí[illegible]—a fact in harmony with 101
Ixtlilxochitl's remarks concerning these people at the time of their incorporation into the Empire.[illegible]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Xocotitlan was a prolongation of the 635
Empire frontier towards Michoacan, exposed to attack from the west 131
and north. East of it lay the province of Quahuacan.

TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Xocotitlan is given as follows:

CLOTHING

400 little mantles of embroidered henequen** [391]

FOOD

4 large bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*[illegible] [362]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xocotitlan (like the other diminutive province of Malinalco) gives us figures—lacking from most of the relaciones—for the tribute derived by the Mexicans from a single town, and these figures suggest that life under Mexican rule was arduous. 651 632

9. ATOTONILCO DE PEDRAZA

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (not to be confused with that 635
of Atotonilco el Grande) occupied with its list of towns the verso side 114
of a lost page of the *Matricula*, as we may ascertain by the copy which forms folio 28ʳ of the *Mendocino*.[illegible] It consisted of seven pueblos, of which only the cabecera survives with its original name. Despite the plethora of Atotonilcos, we may be sure of the location of this particular town and of its corresponding province because references to one other pueblo listed, Otlazpan, have been found in old documents. The

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[illegible] Soustelle, *La Famille Otomi-Pame du Mexique Central* (1937), *passim*.

[illegible] He puts them among Otomí, Mazahua, and Matlatzinca peoples. *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 256.

[illegible] See n. 111, p. 31.

[illegible] The lost original might be called p. 6B.

635 province of Atotonilco de Pedraza comprised small segments of the
114 north-central part of modern Mexico State and southwest Hidalgo. The map of Ortelius of 1579 has provided a few hints for the present one, as follows:

[103]

MENDOCINO	ORTELIUS, 1579
Atotonilco, 4	[No change]
Otlazpã, 1	Hatlaspa

Five of the towns, however, have vanished utterly and inexplicably. These are: Acocolco, Guapalcalco, Queçalmacã, Tehuehuec, and Xalac.

To compensate in a measure for these losses we may add two towns: Apaxco (3) and Tepexic (2).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Apaxco* is one of the towns subject to the Tepaneca of Tlacopan.
131 *Atotonilco,* still bearing its not very distinguished name, survives today; it is situated some twenty kilometers southeast of Tula. It has been given the arbitrary "apellido" of Pedraza in the present work, for ready identification. Maese Diego de Pedraza and, later, his son Melchor were encomenderos of the town in the sixteenth century.[illegible]

Otlazpan is a difficult problem, but one which must be solved so far as possible, since this and Atotonilco de Pedraza are the only two towns indicated on folio 28ʳ of the *Mendocino* which can be found, and Atotonilcos are confusingly abundant. Otlazpan appears on at least one early map, and it has been possible to unearth various references to it, some of as recent a date as 1800. It may be located with reasonable certainty, yet there is no clear evidence as to what happened to it.[illegible]

[illegible] *PNE*, 1: No. 1.

[illegible] The "Anales de Quauhtitlan" (Walter Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* [1938], vss. 470, 481, 629, etc.) cite it various times. The *Codex Osuna* (1878) gives its glyph (fol. 497-35), together with that of Tepexic and the legend "otlazpã, yhua tepesic ce comẽdero" ("Otlazpan and Tepexic, one encomendero"). A little-known codex, the *Mariano Jiménez* (1904), lists the salaries of the officials of Otlazpan in 1549. On the Ortelius map of thirty years later, it appears to the southwest of Tepeji del Río. Finally, a whole tome (No. 1201) of the Ramo de Tierras of the Archivo General de la Nación, México, is devoted to land disputes between Otlazpan and a neighbor. This contains documents from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. The Códice Franciscano, written in 1570, cites (p. 15): "... otro monasterio fundado en termino de dos pueblos, los cuales se juntaron para lo edificar y poblar cabe él ... el uno Tepexico [Tepexic] ... el otro se llama Otlazpan."

The pueblo of Jagueyes disputed certain pastures with Otlazpan; 632
moreover, from the reference to the dispute it is clear that Tepexic, 131
Huehuetoca, and Otlazpan also had a common boundary at a hill called Hueytepec.[illegible] The *Codex Mariano Jiménez* also deals in part with the limits between Tepexic and Otlazpan. But whether we should place Otlazpan north or south of the line formed by these three pueblos is uncertain. The evidence is slightly in favor of the south.[illegible]

Tepexic figures among the towns subject to Tlacopan, in the list we have cited at the opening of this section.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—It would appear[illegible] that the people of Otlaz- 177
pan and of its subject towns spoke Otomí and the related Mazahua, 579
whereas the inhabitants of Tepexic spoke Náhuatl. This division was 101
accompanied by an enmity the echoes of which lasted into recent times in the form of a yearly stone-fight between the youths of the two towns at a place called the "Puente de las Guerras."

Provincial borders in 1519.—Many of the towns of this province have 635
not been located, but its outline is known from the boundaries of its 131
neighbors. To the north of Atotonilco de Pedraza lay Xilotepec and Axocopan provinces, to the east Hueypuchtla and Quauhtitlan, to the south Quahuacan, and to the southwest Xocotitlan—all provinces of the Empire.

[illegible] AGN, Tierras 1201, last document, p. 6, is a document of the Viceroy Martin Enríquez which bears the date May 12, 1576, and reads in part: "hago mercod a melchoir muñez de vn sitio destancia para ganado menor entre los terminos de los pueblos de tepexi y utlaspa y huegetoca en vn cerro que llaman los yndios gueytepeque y en lengua castellana cerro grande a la parte del sur en vna barranca que baxa a vna quebrada grande que ba hazia san bernardino sujeto de utlaspa." Folio 11^v calls this hill "ococacaya hueytepec."

[illegible] Nicolás Léon (*Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3) gives a list of subject towns of Otlazpan—without any hint of his authority, of course—and names among them Tlautla and San Ildefonso. He also calls Otlazpan "San Juan." This would locate Otlazpan north of Tepexic. But in view of the frequent unreliability of Léon and his errors and oversights as editor of the *Mariano Jiménez*—he even overlooks the glyph of the town in the codex, fol. 6^v, where the alcaldes are drawn with the treasure chest—more faith is probably to be placed in the Ortelius map, on which Otlazpan falls south of Tepexic. In the land dispute with Jagueyes, Otlazpan is called "San Francisco" (AGN, Tierras 1201, Cuaderno 5) and two subject ranchos are named, San Bernardino and El Maguey—undiscoverable, of course. Burial records of San Francisco [*sic*] "Ontlazpan," 1611–1615, are preserved in the Ayer Collection, Newberry Library, Chicago, Illinois (Indian Linguistics Catalogue, No. 1468). [114]

[illegible] According to Léon, *Codex Mariano Jiménez*, p. 3.

635 *Regional names.*—Atitlaquia and Apaxco lay in the margin of the ancient Teotlalpan, on which we have commented elsewhere.[illegible]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—This obliterated province gave the following items of tribute:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of rich mantles**
714 400 bundles of mantles with black-and-white border**
800 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
62 warriors' costumes, together with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, huauhtli, and chian)*

OTHER GOODS

[317] 400 loads of lime**

651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Atotonilco de Pedraza itself
632 seems to have figured in the lime manufacture noted above.[illegible]

317 Otlazpan, in 1549, paid tribute of lime, "mantas labradas con tochomitl," and many other articles, as we see in the *Codex Mariano Jiménez*. These must be the "mantillas de ricas labores ... ropa que bestian los S[eñore]s y caciques." *Tochomitl* is defined in the "Relaciones históricas estadísticas" (1:228) as "lana teñida de colores la qual dicha lana era conejos y liebres." (Compare with Tepechpa, p. 72.)

10. QUAUHTITLAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 Page 6 of the *Matricula* represents the once great province of Quauh-
114 titlan, whose annals are so precious to the investigator of ancient Mexican history and ethnology. This page is copied as folio 26' of the *Codex Mendocino*. The province lay in the modern State of Mexico, north
[128] of the Federal District. Seven towns are listed in this province, the present map of which is based on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura

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[illegible] Barlow, "Las provincias septentrionales del Impero de los Mexicanos," in *Tercera Reunión de Mesa Redonda sobre Problemas Antropológicos de México y Centro América, — 1943: El Norte de México y el sur de Estados Unidos* (1944), pp. 119–121.

[illegible] *PNE*, 1: No. 1 [*ca.* 1550]: "Ay muchos magueyes y tunas y piedra para hazer cal y destas cosas tienen mucha grangeria los yndios." The whole region was abundant in lime.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635

y Fomento ("Valle de México," 1937; scale, 1:100,000). The correspondence of old and modern names appears below: 114 [128]

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Cuezcomahuacā, 6	[See Remarks on Towns] [103]
Quauhtitlan, 2	Cuauhtitlán
Tehuiloyocā, 4	Teoloyucan
Tepoxaco, 1	[No change]
Xiloçinco, 7	Xilotzingo

Two towns remain to be identified: Alhuexoyocā and Xalapan.

On the other hand, we may add two other subject towns to the province: Huehuetoca (5) and Tepotzotlan (3).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuezcomahuacan is said, in a document of 1570, to be subject to Tequixquiac; indeed, to be almost one with it.[illegible] 632 131

Huehuetoca figures in the list of subjects of Tlacopan.

Tehuiloyocan has become Teoloyucan and lies southeast of Huehuetoca. That it is the same pueblo is shown by the 1570 document, which places it "de este dicho pueblo de Güegüetocan una legua."[illegible]

Tepotzotlan is another of the former Tepanec towns.

Xalapan (not on the map) may possibly be the San Lorenzo Axalpan subject to Quauhtitlan.[illegible]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The rich and complicated history of the region is preserved in its annals, which cannot be summarized here. (Such a résumé may be found in Barlow's review of Velazquez' edition of *Códice Chimalpopoca,* in the *Hispanic-American Historical Review* [1947], 27: 520–526.) Quauhtitlan, Xiloçinco, and Tepotzotlan figured eventually among the towns of the Tepaneca, however; and the Náhuatl tongue predominated. 197 635 175

Provincial borders in 1519.—Quauhtitlan lay in the heart of the Empire. To the northwest was Atotonilco de Pedraza, to the northeast Hueypuchtla, to the east the lacustrine towns, and to the southwest Quahuacan. 635 131

[illegible] *GPM,* p. 67: "distante de la cabecera cuatrocientos pasos: está esta hacia el sur."

[illegible] *GPM,* p. 263.

[illegible] *PNE,* 3: 33, n. 1.

651

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Rush mats and seats were a distinctive tribute of the province of Quauhtitlan, which paid the following items:

CLOTHING

[291 400 bundles of rich little mantles**
714] 400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border**
400 bundles of little white mantles**
62 warriors' costumes with shields (2 fine pieces)*

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER TRIBUTE

[285] 4,000 *petates*
4,000 rush seats

11. XILOTEPEC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635
114 The province of Xilotepec, which kept its name into the late sixteenth century, contained seven towns, according to page 9 of the *Matricula* and folio 31ʳ of the *Mendocino*. It lay in the southwest part of Hidalgo and in the northwest part of the State of Mexico. In the *Matricula,* the towns of Xilotepec and Michmaloyan are identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino,* all are. The present map is based on the "Millionth [128] Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheets "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." Below are the *Mendocino* names which have been identified with those of the modern map:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acaxochitla, 7	[Missing]
Michmaloyan, 5	Michimaloyan
Tecoçauhtla, 11	Tecozautla
Tepetitlan, 6	Tepetitlán
Tzayanalquilpan, 3	Soyaniquilpan
Xilotepec, 2	Jilotepec

There remains a seventh town to identify in this province: Tlachco. It is possible that this may be the modern Querétaro, for the Mexican version of Querétaro (more properly "Querendaro" in Tarascan) is

Tlachco, as we see in the "Descripción d[illegible]ever, it 632
is not really clear that Querétaro is a pre-[illegible]m- 114
pression given by the relación is that it was founde[illegible]the
Spanish invasion. And evidence that Querendaro-Tlachco is not the
Tlachco of the *Matricula* is found in the same relación, in the list of
"mojoneras" lying between Querétaro and Xilotepec. Tlachco, there-
fore, remains a puzzle.

We may add a few towns to those of the *Matricula*, and establish the 635
western frontier of the province, on the authority of the sixteenth- 632
century relaciones: Atlan (9), Hueichiapan (10), Nopala (8), Titl-
milpa (1),[illegible] and Zimapan (12).[illegible]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acaxochitla may be found in the Secretaría de Agricultura atlas. 632

Titlmilpa seems to be the best form for the name which Orozco y Berra transcribes from the same document (in his *Geography*, p. 258) as "Tiltmilpa." Today it is Timilpan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The province of Xilotepec was populated 635
by the Otomí. One early writer calls them "barbarous compared to [197]
the Mexicans," but admits that they are not nomads like their Chichi- 101
mec neighbors.[illegible] These "barbarous" people of Xilotepec Province, it 212
should be pointed out, produced the only known codex with an
Otomí (instead of a Mexican) text, possibly under the stimulus of

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[illegible] In Primo Feliciano Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), I: 1–48.

[illegible] The series appears thus in the "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí*, I: 13: "hera su mojonera con los de Xilotepec los pueblos siguientes santiago tecuçautla, sanct matheo gueichiapa, sant joespe atla," which have been located. Then follow three towns which have not been identified: "santa maria tleculutl ycatzia san geronimo acagulcingo san lorenço tlechatitla"; and the list ends with "san andres titlmepa," the Timilpan of today. Acagulcingo seems to be better rendered in a document published by Simpson (*Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain*, Ibero-Americana [1934], No. 7, p. 48), where it is given as "San Geronimo Acagualcingo." *ENE*, 14: 119, gives "Acaualtzinco."

[illegible] *PNE*, 6: 3: "en tiempo de su gentilidad obedecian los naturales destos pueblos al señor de Jilotepec ... en cuyo rreconoscimiento le dauan de la caça que sacauan."

[illegible] "La provincia que llaman de Xilotepec, la cual es toda de indios otomis, que son barbaros en respecto de los mexicanos, y asi no tienen tanta policía, y confinan con los chichimecas, que son como alárabes y estan todavia de guerra" (García Icazbalceta, ed., *Nueva colección de documentos para la historia de México* [1886–1892], II: 18).

212 their Náhua masters. These unique historical annals for the years 1403–1528 were discovered by Lic. Alfonso Caso.[56] They come from the town of Hueichiapan, on the very Chichimec frontier, and should afford important ethnographic and historical data when published.

632 635 Three of the seven towns listed on the *Matricula* page are definitely stated to be old Tepanec domain. These are Michmaloyan, Tecoçauhtla, and Xilotepec. Two others, which fell within the province but are not on the *Matricula* page, were also Tepanec: Tula (4) and the unlocated frontier town of Acaualtzinco.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west and north of the province of Xilotepec lay the "tierra de guerra" of the Chichimec nomads.[57] Traders ventured into this region, however, as did Conin, the Otomí *pochtecatl* who founded Querétaro. East of Xilotepec lay the Empire province of Axocopan, and to the south that of Atotonilco.

Regional names.—The ancient Teotlalpan began immediately on the borders of Xilotepec, with the town of Atitlaquia,[58] but apparently did not overlap with it.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino,* the following tribute was extracted from the province of Xilotepec:

CLOTHING

[291 7:4]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses, richly decorated**
408 bundles[59] of men's mantles**
400 bundles of embroidered skirts**
800 bundles of mantles with a spotted design**
408 bundles[60] of rich little mantles**
400 bundles of mantles with a red stripe in the middle**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

[262] 4 wood cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

OTHER GOODS

[231] 1–4 live eagles, "according to what they found"[61]

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[56] Alfonso Caso, "Un Codice en Otomi," in *Proceedings of Twenty-third Congress of Americanists, . . . 1928* (1930), pp. 130–135.

[57] Cf. n. 35 above.

[58] *PNE,* 6: 201.

[59] Corrected from 400 of *Mendocino* commentary.

[60] Corrected from 400.

[61] The only other live-eagle tribute specified in the *Matricula* came from the province of Oxitipan, also in the north of the Empire.

Tribute of the component towns.—A little more detail on tribute appears in the "Descripción de Querétaro," which remarks the abject subservience of Xilotepec Province to its masters, the tribute of mantles and game, and the brutality of the tax collectors.[illegible] 651 632

12. Axocopan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Axocopan was depicted on one of two leaves of the 635
Matricula which have disappeared completely. It must have occupied 114
the recto side of a leaf between those representing the provinces of
Quauhtitlan and Hueypuchtla, since it is preserved for us in this
location in the copy of the *Mendocino Codex*, folio 27ʳ.[illegible] Axocopan
Province lay in the southwest part of the territory belonging to modern
Hidalgo State. Its towns have been located on the basis of the sheet [128]
"San Luis Potosí" of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth
Map," supplemented by the Hidalgo map of the atlas of the Secretaría
de Agricultura y Fomento. The equivalents between ancient names
and those of the "Millionth Map" are noted below:

[103]

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Atenco, 5	[Missing]
Axocopan, 1	[Missing]
Mizquiyahuala, 7	Mixquíahuala
Tecpatepec, 8	[No change]
Temohuayã, 2	[Missing]
Tetepanco, 3	Tetepango
Tezcatepec, 9	[Missing]
Tlaahuililpã, 4	Tlahuelilpa
Xochichiuca	[Missing]
Yzmiquilpã, 10	Ixmiquilpan

Despite the absence of many names from the "Millionth Map," and of some from both maps used, all these towns have been located. We may even add to them the following town: Tezontepec (6).

[illegible] "Descripción de Querétaro," in Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para ... San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), I: 33: "en tiempo de su gentilidad [los de Xilotepec] eran sujetos á los señores de mexico á los cuales adoraban como a dioses ... tributabanles todo lo que podía cada vno ó lo que querían los que lo rrecogían daban mantas gallinas codornices conejos y sobre esto les apremiauan los cojedores con açotes y otros malos tratamientos."

[illegible] Regarding the missing pages, see Introduction, pp. 6–7. This vanished *Matricula* original may be called p. 6A of that codex.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atenco,* now Atengo, is a pueblo of Tezontepec de Aldama on the
131 Agricultura y Fomento map. It is mentioned in a sixteenth-century document as being a league and a half from "Mizquiahuala."[64] The only other Atengo in the area of the former province is a mere barrio of Tepeji del Río, which there is no reason to choose.

Axocopan was a town the name of which underwent a rapid metamorphosis in the sixteenth century, from Axacuba to Ajucuba.[65] It may be accurately located from various references: it was three leagues south of Tecpatepec,[66] two leagues from Atitlaquia,[67] and bordered "Tetebanco" on the east and south.

Temohuayan is missing from the "Millionth Map," but appears as "Temoaya" on that of the Secretaría de Agricultura.

Tezcatepec is presumably the one north of Mizquiyahuala on the Secretaría de Agricultura map. Though this Tezcatepec has not appeared in the early sources examined, and though there is a better-documented modern town of the same name (in the province of Hueypuchtla), it appears that the homonym was called Tezcatepectonco in pre-Hispanic times.

Tezontepec appears among the pueblos subject to Tlacopan in the list we have cited at the opening of this section.

Xochichiuca is gone, but it once stood one league from Axacuba, to which it was subject.[68] The direction is not specified.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The cabecera of Axocopan and the fol-
197 lowing towns were formerly Tepanec dominions: Mizquiyahuala, Tecpatepec, Tezcatepec, Tezontepec, Tlaahuililpan, and Yzmiquilpan. Both Otomí and Náhuatl were spoken in the province, the latter from Chichimec times, apparently.[69]

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[64] *GPM,* p. 185.

[65] *PNE,* 1: No. 1; *GPM,* p. 188.

[66] *PNE,* 6: 36.

[67] *PNE,* 6: 205.

[68] *PNE,* 3: 58; 6: 19.

[69] *PNE,* 6: 15, 32, and 35. On the population of the province by Chichimec settlers, see *PNE,* 6: 14 and 24.

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the north lay the republic of Metztitlan, whose soldiers fought with Yzmiquilpan. To the east was Hueypuchtla, to the south Atotonilco, and to the west Xilotepec—all Empire provinces. 635 131

Regional names.—Many of the towns of the province of Axocopan lay in a region called the Teotlalpan.[illegible] This term is defined as "tierra de los dioses."[illegible] The Teotlalpan is a term used far into the sixteenth century, by Alonso de Santa Cruz in his *Geography*, and by others. It does not seem to have been coterminous with the province of Axocopan in the north: Yzmiquilpan is nowhere stated to be inside the Teotlalpan, for example. But documentation is scarce. 635

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Axocopan and the other subjects of this province was as follows: 651

CLOTHING

800 bundles of rich little mantles** [291
400 bundles of little mantles with black-and-white border** 714]
800 bundles of little white mantles**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
42 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD**

4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli) [262
400 large jars of thick maguey honey 263]

Tribute of the component towns.—Some indication of the way in which this burden was divided among the tributaries appears below. 651 632

Atenco is grouped with Mizquiyahuala (*q.v.*).

Axocopan gave shields and spears, henequen mantles, and made nine special milpas for its overlords.[illegible]

Mizquiyahuala, together with Atenco, paid one turkey every twenty days, as well as henequen mantles: "... estavan sujetos al p[uebl]o de [235]

[illegible] Axocopan, *PNE*, 6: 14; Mizquiyahuala, *PNE*, I: No. 347; Tecpatepec, *PNE*, 6: 34; Tezcatepec, *PNE*, 6: 32 and 1: No. 546; Tlahuelilpa, on the other hand, "está ya casi fuera de la comarca que dizen de la Teotlalpan" (*PNE*, 3: 73).

[illegible] *PNE*, 6: 14 and *passim*.

[illegible] To the ruler in México, "dauanle de tributo: rrodelas de nequen [*sic*] y varillas tostadas, mantas de nequen de diferentes labores; hazianle nueve sementeras de mahiz" (*PNE*, 6: 15).

651 tula ... Ansi mismo estavan sujetos al de mexico donde estava y rresidia [235] montesuma q̄ en aquellos tiempos hera señor dellos, y la davan de tributo cada un yndio una gallina desta tierra cada veinte dias y unas mantas de nequen y todos en general chicos y grandes hazian lo mismo" (RHE, 1:253).

[237] Tecpatepec paid henequen mantles and skirts, deer horns, and game, as well as making a special milpa.[83]

[411 281] Tezcatepec paid tribute of game, bows and arrows, and deerskins.[84]

13. HUEYPUCHTLA

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 On page 7 of the *Matricula* and on folio 29' of the *Codex Mendocino* appears the province of Hueypuchtla, which included south-central Hidalgo and a tiny segment of north-central Mexico. The present map [128] is based on the American Geographical Society's Millionth Map, "San Luis Potosí" and "Ciudad de México." In the *Matricula,* only the cabecera is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino,* all towns are. The following have been identified:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acayocā, 7	Acayoca
Atocpan, 10	Actopan
Hueypuchtla, 3	Hueypoxtla
Tequixquiac, 1	[No change]
Tetlapanaloyā, 2	Tlapanaloya
Tezcatepectonco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xicalhuacan (? 4)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xomeyocan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]

One pueblo of the *Matricula* remains unidentified: Xalac.

On the other hand, we may add two more towns with certainty to this province: Itzcuincuitlapilco (8) and Tolnacuchtla (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Atocpan* has become the Actopan of today. Although there still exists another town called Atocpan (southeast of Hueypuchtla), ours is the

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[83] *PNE,* 6: 36: "dauan de tributo mantas de nequen y naguas, cueros de venado, venados, liebres, conejos y codornizes, y le hazian vna sementera de mahiz."

[84] *PNE,* 6: 32: "rreconoçian a Moctezuma ... davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

subject of the sixteenth-century reports, in which it is still called 632
Atucpan. Moreover, the "Relación de ... Meztitlan" gives it as one of 131
the towns against which that state made war.

Itzcuincuitlapilco was one of the former Tepanec towns. It appears in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura.

Tezcatepectonco is the interpretation of the glyph made by the *Mendocino* annotator. It might equally well be read "Tezcatepec." A vanished Tezcatepec is the only town of this name which is geographically admissible. It lay between Hueypuchtla, Axocopan, and Tequixquiac, two long leagues southeast of Axocopan and "dos leguas buenas" north of Hueypuchtla.

Tetlapanaloyan lay "quatro leguas pequenas" to the south of Axocopan and "media legua pequena" to the west of Hueypuchtla. It must therefore be the Tlapanaloyan of today.

Xicalhuacan is stated to be one league north-northeast of Tizayuca.

Xomeyocan lay two leagues east of Hueypuchtla.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The following towns of this province 635
were old Tepanec dominions: Atocpan, Hueypuchtla, Itzcuincuitla- 632
pilco, and Tequixquiac. The language of the province was pre- 197
dominantly Otomí, but some Mexican was also spoken there.

Provincial borders in 1519.—On the north, Hueypuchtla was bor- 635
dered by the republic of Metztitlan, with which Atocpan had war. To 131
the east lay Atotonilco (el Grande), to the southeast Acolhuacan, to the south Quauhtitlan, and to the west Axocopan and the other Atotonilco—all Empire provinces.

PNE, 6: 24 and 35.

The relación of this town is given in *PNE*, 6: 31–34.

Cf. another Tezcatepec in Axocopan Province.

GPM, p. 188.

PNE, 6: 15. See also *PNE*, 3: 70.

PNE, 6: 28.

PNE, 6: 15.

PNE, 6: 28.

PNE, 3: 42.

PNE, 6: 27.

In Hueypuchtla, for example, "hablan dos idiomas, otomi y mexicana, y la mas general es la otomy" (*PNE*, 6: 28). In Tolnacuchtla, "hablan la lengua otomy ... y algunos hablan la lengua mexicana" (*PNE*, 6: 24).

"Relación de Meztitlan."

635 *Regional names.*—The cabacera of Hueypuchtla lay within the region known as the Teotlalpan,[67] as did Tequixquiac[68] and the Tezcatepec we have identified as the pre-Hispanic Tezcatepectonco.[69]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Hueypuchtla and its subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

CLOTHING

[291 400 little decorated mantles**
714] 400 henequen mantles with black-and-white border**
800 white henequen mantles**
62 warriors' costumes, with shields*

FOOD*

[262 4 wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)
263] 400 jars of thick maguey honey

651
632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Some of the elements of the tribute listed above may be traced in the relaciones of the sixteenth century.

[286] Hueypuchtla gave game and mantles and weapons, as well as making a special milpa for purposes of tribute. Nets are also mentioned—an unusual item.[70]

Tezcatepec[tonco] provided weapons and game.[71]

[231] Tolnacuchtla gave tribute of game, among which figured live eagles.[72]

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[67] *PNE,* 3: 48, 6: 26. See discussion of regional names, Axocopan (p. 47) for a definition.

[68] *PNE,* 3: 51.

[69] *PNE,* 6: 32.

[70] *PNE,* 6: 28: "rreconoçian a ... Moctezuma y a sus antecesores, dauanle por tributo, venados, conejos, rredes y vnas mantillas de nequen que son como anjeo de Castilla, y codornyses y cutalas, arcos y flechas, y le hazian vnas sementeras, mahiz, frisoles, calabaças y otras semyllas menudas de esta tierra."

[71] *PNE,* 6: 32: "davanle de tributo venados, conejos, liebres, culebras, arcos, flechas, pellejos de venados."

[72] Live eagles were depicted in the *Matricula* from two other provinces of the north: Oxitipan and Xilotepec. *PNE,* 6: 25: "davanle de tributo aguilas, codornyces, venados, liebres y conejos."

IV. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE NORTH

JUST AS THE PRECEDING GROUP of provinces may be linked con- 635 veniently as the Old Tepanec Domain, those which we are about 114 to consider belong predominantly to another member of the triumvirate, Acolhuacan Texcoco. The chief authority for this is the chronicler Ixtlilxochitl, who tells us in some detail how Nezahualcoyotl placed governors and mayordomos in Cuauhchinanco, Tuchpa, and other towns we shall consider—enough to imply that the whole northeast was under the dominion of the Acolhuaque in late pre-Hispanic days. He explains that these were the towns "allotted to the realm of Texcoco, the other two kings having no share in them."[1] Though Ixtlilxochitl is accused of mendacious nationalism, we may accept his word, inasmuch as such sources as a list of pueblos subject to Texcoco[2] and the conquest lists of that city-state, which the writer will publish later in a chronology of the Empire, confirm his statements absolutely.

14. OXITIPAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The last leaf of the *Matricula* as it exists today (p. 28) deals with the province of Ctzicoac (*Mendocino,* fol. 55ʳ). Following this page there was originally at least one more leaf in the *Matricula*—a leaf which is known only from the *Mendocino* copy. At this point in the *Mendocino* appear the words "fin de la parte segunda," that is, the end of the tribute section of this tripartite codex. Presumably the lost *Matricula* leaf was blank upon its verso when the *Mendocino* copyist had it before him, or he would not have written "fin." The long array of tributaries ended here.

What must have been the recto of the original leaf not only is the 131 end of the manuscript, but also represents the end of the Empire of 635 the Mexica, as far as the north is concerned, for there is but one town 114

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[1] "Esta provincia y las demas en donde puso sus mayordomos y cobradores, fueron las que se ajudicaron al reino de Texcoco, sin entrar en participacion los otros dos reyes" (Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* [1892], II: 198).

[2] In the *Anales del Museo Nacional de ... México,* Epoca I (1897), 4: 48–51 and Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), vs. 1343, among other places.

635 114 [31] represented on this page, and it was the most northerly of the whole vast Empire. This town is marked Oxitipan in the *Mendocino* copy, which is all we have. The following equation has been made:

Oxitipan, 1	Ojitipa de Mirador

[651] Many other towns must have been reckoned in with Oxitipan, to judge from the figures for pre-Hispanic and colonial tribute, which differ enormously. (Four hundred loads of *axi* compared with thirty, for example.)

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 Though Oxitipan is described as lying eight leagues to the west of what is now Ciudad Valles,[3] it is clear that the reporter had his directions mixed. Ojitipa de Mirador is the same distance south, being a rancho of the municipio of Tancanhuitz, in the extreme southeast of the State of San Luis Potosí. The name of a stream flowing near Tancanhuitz is Oxitipan—another instance of the survival of this once important place name. Ciudad Valles was originally the Villa de Santiago de los Valles de Oxitipan.[4]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 114 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Although we have no specific description of Oxitipan from early times, an English *pochtecatl* named Chilton gives an account from 1572 dealing with near-by areas to the east and north, that is, Tancuaylab and the modern Ciudad Valles.

Chilton writes:[5]

> 635 105 The first town we came unto is called Tancuylabo, in which there dwell many Indians, high of stature, having all their bodies painted with blew, and weare their haire long down to their knees, tied as women use to doe with their haire-laces. When they go out of their doores, they cary with them their bowes and arrows, being very great archers, going for the most part naked. In those countreys they take neither golde nor silver for exchange of any thing, but onely Salt, which they greatly esteeme, and use it for a principall medicine for certain wormes which breed in their lips and in their gummes.

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[3] *PNE,* 1: No. 424: "Confina con Tambolon"—now a rancho of Valles.

[4] Meade, *La Huexteca: Epoca Antigua* (1942), p. 293.

[5] Chilton's narrative in Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations . . . of the English Nation* (Everyman's Library, 1907), VI: 275.

Chilton later fell into the hands of Indians near Santiago de los 635
Valles (Ciudad Valles), and was threatened with cannibalism, but 105
they feared his leanness to be due to the pox, and spared him. Scalp-taking here is noted by Chilton:

[726]

> ...they take a great pride in killing a Christian; and to wear any part of him where he hath any haire growing, hanging it about their necks, and so are accounted for valiant men.

Native trade connections between the Valles area and distant Xalapa [439]
of Veracruz are also noted by Chilton.

In early pre-Hispanic times, Oxitipan was claimed, along with 635
Tulancinco and other towns of the north, as part of the old domain of 175
Xaltocan.[6]

Provincial borders in 1519.—In 1519, the province of Ctzicoac lay to 635
the south; on all other sides, the province of Oxitipan lay open to 131
Chichimec attack.

TRIBUTE

The town of Oxitipan, which probably included various subjects, gave 651
the following tribute in the native period:

CLOTHING[6] [291]

2,010 bundles[7] of large mantles, each 2 varas long
806 bundles[8] of large mantles, striped red, blue, and yellow

FOOD[6] [262]

400 loads of dried *axi*

OTHER TRIBUTE[6] [231]

1 or more live eagles, as many as were caught

It is noteworthy that the same items of tribute, though in lesser 177
quantities, were given annually in early colonial days to the Spanish 651
masters of Oxitipan.

CLOTHING

9 "sauanas"

FOOD

30 loads of axi
9 jars of honey
... maize

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[6] *ENE*, 10: 126.

[7] Corrected from 2,000.

[8] Corrected from 800.

177
651

OTHER GOODS

... cotton
60 deerskins[9]

15. Ctzicoac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Ctzicoac (Tziccoac would be a less eccentric spelling) 114 is represented on the last, damaged page of the *Matricula* as it survives today, that is, on page 28, the following leaf being lost. Fortunately, this badly damaged leaf was copied and preserved for us long ago in the *Codex Mendocino* (fol. 54ʳ). This former province of the Empire of the Mexica, which contained five principal towns, is now divided between northern Hidalgo and Veracruz, together with a small corner of San Luis Potosí. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" [128] of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí," which gives the following equivalents:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cozcatecutlan, 1	Coxcatlan
Ctzicoac (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Molanco, 7	[See Remarks on Towns]
Xocoyocan (?), 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ychcatlan, 3	Ixcatlan

We may add Tampatel, near Tantoyuca—Number 79 of the complete list of Empire conquests—and Tamapachco (8), Number 88. These were conquered by Axayacatl and Tizoc respectively. It is [648] probably safe to fill in the map with Chapulhuacan (2) and Huexotla de Hidalgo (4), which warred with independent Metztitlan.[10]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Cozcatecutlan* is assumed to be the modern Coxcatlan near Tancan-131 huitz, though it is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan" along with towns of the Chicontepec area. Indeed, if it fell in Chicontepec, the whole eastern half of this province would be doubtful, and the question of the northern boundaries of Metztitlan, as well as that of Mexican communication with Oxitipan, would remain open.

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[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 424.

[10] "Relación de ... Meztitlan," p. 113, and *PNE*, 6: 188.

Ctzicoac, which is also called Xiuhcoac, Tziuhcoac, and Cicoaque, 632
is another difficult problem. Meade[31] would locate it in or near the 131
present Chicontepec; Melgarejo[32] presents considerable evidence that it is the modern Dr. Montes de Oca, formerly called San Isidro. The writer regards the problem as not yet completely solved, and prefers to indicate both possibilities on the map.

Huexotla de Hidalgo, which carried on war with Metztitlan, had [648]
Náhua gods and a cacique with a Náhua name. Geographic logic and the wars alluded to would place it within the Empire, though there is no absolute evidence that it was included. As the myopic "Relación de Huexotla" speaks only of the local chief, this town may possibly have been an independent city-state.[33]

Molanco is identified by Melgarejo as a "congregación de 159 habitantes en Izhuatlan de Madero." This seems to have been formed from a pre-Hispanic Tecpan Molanco, four leagues distant"[34]—direction not specified. Tecpan Molanco is probably the *Matricula* pueblo and is mentioned in the "Anales de Cuauhtitlan." A homonym formed an integral part of the señorío of Metztitlan, according to the relación of that town.

Tamapachco, a hybrid Huaxtec-Náhua word, appears in the con- [175]
quest lists of Tizoc. Since the subjugation of this town is mentioned jointly with the conquest of Miqyetlan (Mictlan), Tamapachco is presumably the modern Temapache. A homonym lying southwest of Aquismon was still called Tamapach in the eighteenth century.[35] We have put the northern frontier in this region at Temapache, though [114]
recognizing that Bernal Díaz speaks of a map in Moctezuma's possession which depicted the coast as far as Panuco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—As in the central Balsas basin, the Mexica 635
could not or would not conquer the hot lowlands. The Río Panuco 648
and its tributaries, the Moctezuma and Chicayan, lay outside the Em- 197

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[31] *Op. cit.*, p. 290.

[32] *La provincia de Tzicoac* (1947), pp. 36–42.

[33] *PNE*, 6: 183–192.

[34] Melgarejo, *La provincia de Tzicoac* (1947), pp. 42, 53, and 63, cites AGN, Tierras, Tomo 1691, p. 263.

[35] Velázquez, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de San Luis Potosí* (1897–1899), IV: 273.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635 648 197 105 pire, in territory governed by the aboriginal Huaxtec. Huaxtec was spoken in the northern part of Ctzicoac Province, and Náhuatl (in recent times, at least) in the south.[16] The Huaxtec people, generally speaking, possessed a high and very old culture, inherited from legendary sea-borne founders.[17] Sahagún gives voluminous data on the Huaxteca, of which we quote a part:

> . . . they wore their hair dyed different colors, some yellow, others red, and others varicolored . . . they all had sharp teeth because they sharpened them on purpose; they wore for ornament gold bracelets on their arms, and half-boots made of feathers on their feet, and jade bracelets on their wrists . . .

together with feather headdresses and fanlike collars. "The defects of the Cuexteca," he adds, "are that their men do not cover their shameful parts with loincloths, though there is a great quantity of clothing among them. . . ."[18]

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the south of Ctzicoac lay the independent principality of Metztitlan, with its old Náhua speech and gods. To the east were Atlan and Tuchpa, Empire provinces acquired at about the same time as Ctzicoac, and to the north an obscure "Chichimec" frontier.

635 103 *Regional names.*—Ctzicoac lay in the Huaxteca, a region more properly known as "Cuextlan."[19] This region is also called "Tonacatlalpan," "the land of foodstuffs," and "Xochitlalpan," "place of flowers."[20] One rather corrupt document speaks of Ctzicoac as "Tizcohuacalaotl" ("Tzicohuacaloth"?).[21]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—According to the *Matricula*, Ctzicoac and her subject towns gave this tribute to the Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of white mantles with red, blue, and yellow borders**
400 bundles of loincloths**

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[16] Jiménez Moreno and Mendizabal, "Distribucción prehispanica de las lenguas indígenas de México."

[17] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 131.

[18] *Ibid.*, pp. 131–132. Meade (*La Huaxteca: Epoca Antigua* [1942]) gives the best general résumé of the province.

[19] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 130.

[20] *Ibid.*, p. 131.

[21] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 196.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

651

808 bundles[illegible] of large white mantles, 4 brazas long** 291
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses** 714
  2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD

400 bundles of dried chili peppers* 262

OTHER GOODS

800 bundles of cotton* 248

Another version of this tribute specifies the following annual payments:

CLOTHING

1,800 bundles of mantles for use as carpets, with varicolored stripes 291
..... plain mantles
..... women's skirts and blouses
100 bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long and 3 *piernas* wide
100 bundles of thin mantles, 4 brazas long ("which altogether comes to forty thousand pieces")
200 bundles of loincloths

FOOD

262

100 loads of chili peppers
100 loads of little peppers

OTHER GOODS

400 *petacas* [petates?] 285
400 deerskins 281
100 live deer 231
100 large (live) parrots 237
40 bags of white feathers for weaving
40 bags of varicolored feathers

Besides this, servants were provided for the overlords.[illegible] 357

[illegible] Corrected from 800.

[illegible] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. The province of "Tizcohuacalaotl" paid "en cada un año de tributos mil y ochocientos fardos de mantas así de las ricas betadas de todos colores, que servían para entapizar las salas y cuartos del rey, como de otras llanas, enaguas y huepiles, sin más cien fardos de mantas de Tlacatziuhque [Ilacatziuhque, Molina: cosa torcida] de á tres piernas, que tenia de largo cada una de ellas ocho brazas, y otros cien fardos de las más delicadas y primas de á cuatro brazas, que las unas y las otras venían á ser cuarenta mil piezas, sin más cuatrocientos petacas y cuatrocientos pellejos de venado, cien venados vivos, cien cargas de chile y cien cargas de pepitas, cien papagayos grandes, cuarenta costales de pluma blanca con que hacían telas, y otros cuarenta costales de plumería de aves de diferentes colores, sin más doscientos fardos de pañetes, que venían á ser cuatro mil, con las amas y criadas necesarias para el servicio de palacio."

16. TUCHPA

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The *Matricula* leaf containing Tuchpa Province upon its verso was one of the two leaves carried to Philadelphia a century ago.[84] It is copied on folio 52ʳ of the *Codex Mendocino*. The seven towns of Tuchpa [128] Province now form part of north-central Veracruz State. The present map is based on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "San Luis Potosí." The *Mendocino* names which have been located appear below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Miahuaapā, 4	Miahuapam
Mictlan, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Papantla, 6	[No change]
Tuchpa, 2	Tuxpan
Çihuateopa, 5	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns of the *Mendocino* list remain unlocated: Oçelotepec and Tlatiçapā.

To these we may safely add the town of Tenexticpac (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Mictlan* is "heute ein Weiler bei Castillo de Teayo" (a), according to 131 Lehmann.[85] It is called "Miquetlan" or even "Miquiyetlan" in certain ancient documents.[86]

Oçelotepec might be the modern Ozuluama, north of the frontier which we give, but this remains to be established.

Papantla claimed to have been independent until reduced by Moctezuma II[87]—an assertion which agrees with reports of the rebellious conditions Cortés found on the east coast. The jurisdiction of Papantla

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[84] See Introduction, p. 7.

[85] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 308, n. 2. On the famous fortifications at Castillo de Teayo (a), possibly a garrison of the empire we are describing, see Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprache- und Alterthumskunde* (1902–1923), II: 272 and III: 410–449.

[86] Lehmann, vs. 1348 D5, and the conquest lists of Tizoc.

[87] RHE, 1: 488: "tenian estos yndios antiguamente un governador puesto por monteçuma que los tenia en paz y que antes que monteçuma nasçiese ni credase este rreyno no estauan estos yndios subjetos al padre de monteçuma ni á otra persona y que tenian guerra con el y defendian sus tierras ... y que despues vinieron dende á muchos años que ya estavan cansados de defender sus tierras é terminos se dieron briamente á monteçuma."

reached to the limits of that of Xonoctla in the adjacent province of 632
Tlatlauhquitepec.[illegible] 131

Tenexticpac appears in the Mexican conquest lists as number 78.

Tuchpa is also called Tomilco (? Tochmilco) in some documents in the *Suma de visitas de pueblos* ... (*PNE*, 1: Nos. 449 and 525).

Çihuateopa has been located by Krickeberg (*Los totonaca* [1933], p. 110), who identifies it with Cihuatitlan.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Like Ctzicoac, northern Tuchpa Province 197
belonged to the Huaxteca. The south was different. Papantla was, and 635
still is, a focal point of those who spoke Totonac. The elaborate ruins 648
of that region (El Tajín) are the source of much debate; however,
they are clearly linked with Teotihuacán.[illegible] As noted above,[1] Papantla
was first subjected to the Empire by Moctezuma II, whereas Tuchpa
was one of the towns long tributary to the Acolhuaque of Texcoco.[illegible]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the east of Tuchpa lay the province 635
of Ctzicoac, to the southeast the tiny province of Atlan, and to the 131
south the provinces which cut Tlaxcala off from the sea. Beyond the
northern frontier were the unconquered Huaxtec peoples.

Regional names.—The regional names given under the section "Ctzi- 635
coac",[2] are equally applicable to Tuchpa. The south, however, formed 103
part of the Totonac country, Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Tuchpa Province was wealthy, espe- 651
cially in textiles. She paid the following to her overlords, according to
the *Matricula:*

CLOTHING

400 bundles of black-and-white checked mantles[illegible] [291]
400 bundles of red and white mantles[illegible]
400 bundles of loincloths[illegible]
808 bundles[illegible] of large white mantles, 4 brazas long[illegible]

[illegible] RHE, 1: 487.

[illegible] Cf. Palacios, *La cultura totonaca* (1941), and the valuable bibliography of García Payon, *Interpretación ... de el Tajín* ... (1943).

[illegible] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197.

[illegible] Corrected from 800.

[1] [p.58.—Analyst] [2] [p.56.—Analyst]

651 816 bundles[illegible] of orange-striped mantles, 8 brazas long**
[291] 408 bundles[illegible] of large white mantles, 8 brazas long**
402 bundles[illegible] of mantles striped red and yellow**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
240 bundles of rich mantles in three styles**
[714] 2 warriors' costumes with shields*

FOOD*

[262] 800 loads of dried chili peppers

OTHER GOODS*

[237 20 bags of small white feathers for decorating mantles
301] 2 strings of chalchiuites
1 string of turquoises
2 disks of turquoise mosaic

Another source, which magnifies the seven towns into seven prov- [114] inces in the "gran provincia de Tochpan"[illegible] (seventy-eight pueblos in all), gives the following version:

CLOTHING

[291] 1,580 bundles of mantles
25 mantles and *huipiles*
400½ bundles of "twisted" mantles, 8 brazas long
400½ bundles of thin "twisted" mantles, 4 brazas long

This is summed up as 47,645 articles of clothing, a smaller figure [357] than that given by the *Mendocino*.[illegible] Perhaps we have here the tribute of the cabecera alone. Servants were also supplied, we are told.[illegible]

Still other sources give more details concerning items included in the opulent tribute of Tuchpa Province, among them a kind of mantle called "Tuchpanecayotl."[illegible]

[illegible] Corrected from 800.

[illegible] Corrected from 400.

[illegible] Corrected from 400.

[illegible] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197. It is interesting that the number seven is given, which corresponds to the number of towns known to us from the *Mendocino*.

[illegible] The total number of pieces of clothing from Tuchpa Province specified in the *Mendocino* is 85,480.

[illegible] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197: "En la gran provincia de Tochpan puso por su mayordomo á Huehuetl, que cobraba en cada un año de las mantas del género atrás referido, mil quinientos y ochenta fardos, y mas veinticinco mantas y huepiles, sin más cuatrocientos fardos, y más diez mantas de ilacatziuhqui [Molina: cosa torcida] de a ocho brazas, y otros tantos fardos de mantas de ilacatziuhqui delgado de a cuatro brazas, que por todo venían á ser cuarenta y siete mil seiscientos cuarenta y cinco mantas, enaguas y huepiles, piezas de ilacatziuhqui y pañetes sin más las camas de palacio y criadas que eran necesarias para el servicio. La gran provincia de Tochpan se dividía en siete provincias, que contenían todas ellas sesenta y ocho pueblos a ellas sujetos."

[illegible] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), p. 315. See also Krickeberg, *Los totonacas* (1933), pp. 110–111.

651

Tribute of the component towns.—Papantla paid a tribute of mandles, 632
little peppers, maize, and chili."

17. ATLAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On page 27 of the *Matricula*, which is copied as folio 53ʳ of the *Codex* 635
Mendocino, appears a province of two towns, the second such province 114
which we have encountered." In the former codex, one place glyph is identified as "Atla" (1); the other is left unnamed. In the *Mendocino* they arr identified as "Atlan" and "Teçapotitlan." The town of Atlan appears at the northern tip of Puebla State, in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. Both are listed among the very numerous tributaries of Huauchinango, four leagues distant, in one document which gives Atlan one hundred and fifty tributaries and "Çapotitlan" ten only." Elsewhere both are said to be of the *partido* of Metaltoyuca (2). In the latter document Teçapotitlan is also called "Valpopocatlan.""

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Provincial borders in 1519.—Atlan and Teçapotitlan were apparently 635
the great Mexican bulwarks of the northeast. These two towns are 131
treated in the same way as are Xoconochco, at the southern extremity of the Empire on the Pacific, and Oztoma, on the west, in that the glyph of each town appears on a preliminary leaf of the *Matricula* accompanied by the glyph of a special governor, who held the rank of "tlacochcalcatl," or "tlacochtectli," as the *Mendocino* annotator puts it. Atlan and one other province (Quechaltenanco, in Guerrero) each had but one governor; the five other regions distinguished in this manner each had two.

Bernal Díaz speaks of a garrison which seems to be that of Atlan, when he refers to "…otra capitania…a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan [? Tuchpa] y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nonbre almeria [Nautla], qũes En la costa del norte….""

RHE, 1: 488: "tributabanle mantas y pepitas y mahiz y chile."

Cf. Malinalco, above.

PNE, 3: 97.

ENE, 8: 160.

Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España (1904), I: 302. See fuller quotation from Díaz in note 1, p. 128.

635 Atlan was nearly surrounded by other Empire provinces: Ctzicoac
131 to the northwest, Tuchpa to the northeast and east, and Tlapacoyan to the south. West of it lay Tototepec de Veracruz, seemingly an independent city-state.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The following tribute was paid by the small frontier province of Atlan to its masters, the Mexica:

CLOTHING[43]

[291] 800 bundles of rich red and white mantles, bordered in red, blue, and yellow
800 bundles of loincloths
404 bundles[44] of large white mantles, 4 brazas long

OTHER GOODS[45]

[248] 1,200 bundles of cotton

18. TLAPACOYAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 The province of Tlapacoyan occupies page 26 of the *Matricula*, copied
114 as folio 50ʳ of the *Codex Mendocino.* It contains the seven principal towns of a province now forming part of northern Puebla State. In the *Matricula* the cabecera alone is identified in roman letters; in the *Mendocino*, all towns are. The present map is based on the Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1908). A list of the ancient place names, together with their modern equivalents, is given below:

[103]

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acaçacatla, 7	Zacatlan
Tlapacoyan, 4	[No change]
Xiloxochitlan, 6	Eloxochitlan
Xochiquauhtitlan, 5	Xochicuatla

These three remain to be located: Aztaapan, Coapan, and Tuchtlan.
To this province may be added: Cuauhchinanco (2), Chila (3), and Xicotepec (1).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Acaçacatla* can hardly be other than the Zacatlan of today.
131 *Cuauhchinanco* was one of the fourteen cabeceras of the Acolhuaque.

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[44] Corrected from 400.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Chila and the near-by, vanished Matlatlan we know to have been 632
tributary, from data given by their joint sixteenth-century relación. 131

Tlapacoyan lies in Puebla. It appears in the official conquest lists of the Mexica along with Itzcuincuitlapilco, Tlatlauhquitepec, and other names of this region. It should not be confused with the Tlapacoyan in Veracruz, northeast of Teziutlan.

Xicotepec was an old cabecera of the Acolhuaque.

Xochiquauhtitlan, a town southeast of Tlapacoyan, Puebla, has been variously designated; its original name, after passing through the sixteenth-century variant of "Suchiguauhtla," finally became Xochicuatla.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Cuauhchinanco and Xicotepec were im- 635
portant towns of the Acolhuaque, as has been mentioned above. They seem to have been somewhat unfriendly toward the Mexica. In Xicotepec there exists a curious *huehuetl*, triumphantly carved with the symbol of Tenochtitlan transfixed by the spear of conquest. Also, there is a codex of Huachinango, which, if it were studied and published, would provide much information on this region. Since the 635
Acolhua influence was strong, it may be assumed that most of the 197
people of Tlapacoyan spoke Náhuatl. The eastern rim of the province, however, was Totonac—"very dumb indians who don't like to do anything but eat and sleep," according to the severe "Relación de Chila y Matlatlan." The elusive town of Matlatlan probably typified the acculturation of the region under Náhua influence, accepting foreign gods and fiestas, but conserving the Totonac language.

Provincial borders in 1519.—Tlapacoyan was one of the provinces 635
hemming in Tlaxcala, which lay to the south. West of Tlapacoyan was 131
Atotonilco el Grande, east of it Tlatlauhquitepec, and to the north Atlan—all of them Empire provinces.

Regional names.—The eastern edge of Tlapacoyan entered the zone 635
called Totonacapan.

RHE, 1: 481: "tenian … governador antiguamente puesto por montecçuma."

ENE, 8: 159.

Christensen, "El Teponaztli de Xicotepec," *RMEA* (1939), 3: 179–180.

RHE, 1: 480: "son yndios muy tontos yndinados á solo comer y dormir son de lengua totonaque diferent de la mexicana."

See the process of the cacique of Matlatlan, in *Procesos contra indios idólatras*, Publ. AGN (1912), 3: 205–215.

8: Barlow E-4 (nó date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tlapacoyan paid the following tribute to its Mexican masters:

CLOTHING

[291
714]
400 bundles of black-and-white striped mantles**
800 bundles of large white mantles**
2 warriors' costumes*

651
632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acaçacatla, if we are correct in identifying it with the modern Zacatlán, gave no tribute other than a few judicious gifts.[illegible]

Chila paid, as might be expected from the *Matricula* leaf, a tribute of cotton mantles.[illegible]

19. ATOTONILCO EL GRANDE

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635
114 The glyphs for Atotonilco and its five fellow towns appear on page 8 of the *Matricula* and is copied on folio 30ʳ of the *Codex Mendocino.* There is an Empire province of Atotonilco which may be called the province of Atotonilco de Pedraza (see p. 37 above), but the one represented on folio 30ʳ may be named after the town within it which is indicated by the *Matricula* annotator as Atotonilco el Grande—the only town he identifies on this page. The towns of this province lay in the south-central part of eastern Hidalgo. The *Mendocino,* as usual, identifies all towns, and has been compared with the modern map [128] (American Geographical Society, "Millionth Map," sheet "San Luis Potosí") with the following result:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acaxochitla, 3	Acaxochitlán
Atotonilco, 1	Atotonilco el Grande
Hueyapan, 5	[No change]
Quachqueçaloyã, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tulançinco, 4	Tulancingo
Çtzihuinquiloca	[See Remarks on Towns]

[illegible] RHE, 1: 469: "no tributaban como otros pueblos mas de que quando ellos querian hazer algun presente á mocteçuma lo hazian y no otra cosa."

[illegible] RHE, 1: 481: "antiguamente tributavan á monteçuma mantas de algodon."

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Quachqueçaloyan is given as "dos leguas del mismo Atotonilco" 632
and seventeen leagues from México." As "Tlaquetzaloyan" it appears 131
eight leagues from Hueyacocotla." It was one of two subject towns belonging to Atotonilco in the sixteenth century."

Çtzihuinquiloca may be located from a literary reference, which places it southeast of Epazoyuca."

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants.—Tulançinco, in this province, was a town of great antiq- 635
uity, a former center of the Toltecs of Tula, Hidalgo. Sahagún com- 175
ments on the ruins at Tulançinco in the same breath with those of Tula itself and of Xochicalco." These ruins have only recently been surveyed." Tulançinco eventually became an important garrison town of the Acolhuaque," and it was from this point, according to Tezozomoc's *Crónica mexicana* (p. 312), that the conquest of the Huaxteca was launched.

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Atotonilco el Grande 635
lay between two *tierras de guerra.* To the north was Metztitlan, and 131
probably a second city-state (Tototepec de Veracruz); to the south was Tlaxcala. East and west, however, were other Empire provinces, Tlapacoyan and Hueypuchtla.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of the province of Atoto- 651
nilco el Grande to its overlords in Mexico is given below:

CLOTHING [291

800 bundles of rich mantles 714]
1,600 bundles of mantles of white nequen
4 warriors' costumes with shields

PNE, 3: 91.

PNE, 1: No. 133.

GPM, p. 250.

PNE, 1: No. 21.

RHE, 1: 140: "Entre levante y sur [de Epazoyuca] estan muchos pueblos pequeños como tzihuinquilica [*sic*] y tetlyztaca y el pueblo de tepepulco está cinco leguas camino llano."

Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), I: 8 and III: 109.

By Carlos Margain; see Bibliography.

Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 199.

651
[262]

FOOD

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)*

632
651
Tribute of the component towns.—Atotonilco el Grande, in the mid-sixteenth century, gave six hundred *hanegas* of maize annually and twenty-six hanegas of wheat. Quarterly it paid twenty-five women's skirts and twenty-five blouses, as well as fish, quail, chicken eggs, kindling, personal services, and a host of minor items.[*]

20. ACOLHUACAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635
114
The province which is represented on page 3 of the *Matricula* is depicted on folios 21ʳ and 22ʳ of the *Codex Mendocino* copy. It contained twenty-six pueblos worth enumerating. Several of the glyphs are almost obliterated in the *Matricula,* which identifies four towns in roman letters. Three of these identifications—Ixquemaca, Ahuatepec, and Cempoala—agree well enough with the *Mendocino,* which identifies all the towns, but the name of the cabecera is quite different in the two manuscripts. The *Matricula* calls it "Acolman"; the *Mendocino* calls it "Acolhuacan." In the ensuing discussion, Remarks on Towns, the problem is considered. This province lay mostly within the territory now included in the State of Mexico, northeast of Lake Texcoco, [128] but projected a short distance into Hidalgo. With the 1937 map, "Valle de México" (Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento), used as base, more than half the towns of this province have been identified:

103

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acolhuacã, 23	[See Remarks on Towns]
Aztaquemeca	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cenpoalan, 5	Zempoala
Ecatepec, 15	[No change]
Epaçoyucã, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huiçilan, 9	Huitzilac
Matixco, 14	Maquixco
Teacalco, 11	[See Remarks on Towns]
Temancalapã, 10	Temaxcalapan
Tepechpa, 16	Tepexpan

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[*] *PNE,* 1: No. 21: "Y da mas seyçientas hanegas de maiz cada año y siembran veinte y siete hanegas de trigo, y dan veinte e cinco naguas y otras tantas camisas cada ochenta dias."

103

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Tepetlaoxtoc, 18	Tepetlaoxtoc
Teçoyucã, 17	Tezoyuca
Tiçayucã, 8	Tizayuca
Tlaquilpã, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tonanytla, 12	Tonanitla

Various pueblos of this crowded province remain to be located:

Ahuatepec
Ameyalco
Calyahualco
Contlan
Quauhq̃mecã
Quauhyocan
Tepetlapã
Tiçatepec
Tlachyahualco
Totolçinco
Yxqueme[illegible]

Certain other pueblos may be added to the province on the basis of other documents:

Acolman (2)
Coatepec Chalco, 22
Chicualoapan, 21
Chimalhuacantoyac, 20
Otompan, 24
Pachuca, 1
Teotihuacan, 13
Tepepulco, 7
Tetlyztaca, 6
Tezontepec, 4

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acolman (2) was independent until conquered by Nezahualcoyotl of 632 Texcoco.[illegible]

Acolhuacan is something of a problem. The present paper is hardly the place to pass upon the truth of reports that Texcoco, capital of the Acolhuaque, paid tribute to the Mexica as did any other vassal. But a choice is imperative here: does the glyph which is annotated Acol*man* and Acol*huacan* represent Acolhuacan Texcoco?

The answer is a certain no. It is doubtful that Texcoco ever paid the 632 famous tribute, in the first place. The other member of the Triple 114 Alliance, Tlacopan, does not figure as a tributary anywhere in the *Matricula*, and it was less powerful than the domain of Nezahualpilli. The *Mendocino* interpreter has not written Texcoco, nor does the glyph correspond to those commonly used for Texcoco.[illegible] And the contradictory *Matricula* legend has been written over, as if to avoid

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[illegible] "Nezahualcoyozin casique de Tezcuco, los tiranizo" (*PNE*, 6: 211).
(1942), fig. I.

632 114 one interpretation, at least: the word "tetzcocatl" has been altered in two places to read "acolmecatl"; that is, "men of Texcoco" has been erased. Further evidence that Acolhuacan was neither Acolman nor Texcoco may be found in the lists of conquests in which Huitzihuitl and Itzcoatl participated.

If the glyph does not represent Acolhuacan Texcoco, what Acolhuacan does it mean? Discarding a vague possibility that it may be Acolman, site of the great monastery, the writer prefers to follow the "Relación de Coatepec-Chalco," which informs us explicitly that Acolhuacan is a former name of Coatlichan.

632 The *Mendocino* adds the name of the tribute collector, or "calpixqui," to the place name: it was (rather suspiciously) "Acolmecatl."

Aztaquemeca (not on the map) lay athwart Cortés' escape route after the Noche Triste. His itinerary, as given in Sahagún and in the "Lienzo de Tlaxcala," reads Tepotzotlan–Aztaquemecan–Zacapulco–Tonanixco, and finally, friendly Hueyotlipan. Aztaquemeca may be the Ixtacamecan Santo Domingo, half a league from Otumba (24).

Coatepec Chalco bore a "very special enmity" toward Chalco, to the south, which is enough to align it on our map with the province of Acolhuacan.

Chicualoapan "and its subjects were subject to the caciques and lords of the pueblo and cabecera of Coatlychan."

Chimalhuacantoyac had once belonged to the ex-province of Chalco, but was annexed by "the province of Aculhuacan, which is Coatlychan."

Epaçoyucan, which can be found on the Hidalgo map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento atlas, was earlier called Tomazquitlac. It belonged to Acolhuacan from a very early date.

For this possibility, see *PNE,* 6: 213, n. 2.

PNE, 6: 80: "Coatlychan, que en aquel tiempo se dezia Aculhuacan ... ." See Chimalhuacantoyac, below.

PNE, 3: 83 and n. 1; Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras historicas* (1892), I: 304, "Azquemeca," near Axapusco.

PNE, 6: 51: "tubo muy particular enemystad con los de la probinçia de Chalco, a los quales dió muchas guerras."

PNE, 6: 82–83. See Acolhuacan, above.

PNE, 6: 66: "heran las tierras de los yndios de la provinçia de Chalco, y al presente [1579] este pueblo y sus subjetos estan en la comarca y provinçia de Aculhuacan, que es Coatlychan."

"Eran del señorio de texcuco como deziendên de los chichimecos de texcuco siempre reconoçian de sus mayores que llaman el reyno de acolhuacan" (RHE, 1: 141–142).

Matixco (Maquixco), southwest of Teotihuacan, possesses a homonym, Maquixco Santa Maria, northeast of the same center. Either one of these may be the *Matricula* town. The choice which has been made is frankly arbitrary. 632

Otompan, now Otumba, was the scene of Cortés' last great battle with "los de Culua" as he escaped into Tlaxcala, the frontiers of which lay near by.

Pachuca (1) at first belonged to the Acolhuaque, and later was shared by them with the Mexica.[70]

Quauhyocan appears in another source as "San Marcos Quacyocan" and "Quauhyoca." It was subject to Acolman, but no further detail is given.[71]

Teacalco appears on the map of the State of Mexico of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento atlas.

Teotihuacan, at first a Chichimec republic in the Tepanec sphere, was conquered by Nezahualcoyotl—who eventually had to share it with the Mexica.[72]

Tepepulco "parte terminos" with Tulançinco, in the adjacent province of Atotonilco el Grande, and Hueyotlipan, pertaining to enemy Tlaxcala.[73] Paso y Troncoso has pointed out Tepepulco's close association with Texcoco.[74] It was in Tepepulco that Sahagún began to gather materials for his vast ethnographic work.[75]

Tetlyztaca may be located from references. According to the "Relaciones históricas estadísticas" (1: 151), Tulançinco was four leagues to the [north]east, Tepepulco two leagues to the southeast, and Cenpoala one and one-half to the west: "... los pueblos comarcanos son tulançingo cuatro leguas acia levante tepeapulco dos leguas entre leuante y sur la congregación de Cenpoala legua y media cay açia el poniente." Tetlyztaca lay near Tepechupilco [? now Tepechichilco]. [131]

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[70] Cf. n. 82 below.

[71] *PNE,* 6: 210, 212.

[72] *PNE,* 6: 221: "En tienpo de su gentilidad [illegible]te y republica sobre si, sin reconocer a nadie sino a sus señores natural[illegible] llamaban chichimecas, hasta que Nezagualcoyotzin, señor de Tescuco, tira[illegible] la comarca matando a los hijos de Tetzotzomoctli, señor de Escaputzalco a [illegible] todos reconocian, por guerra, e despues de su muerte de Tetzotzomoctli el dicho Netzagualcoyotzi se hizo poderoso aliandose con Montesuma señor de Mexico; repartieron las tierras del pueblo de San Juan."

[73] *PNE,* 6: 295.

[74] *PNE,* 6: 297.

[75] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), I: xvii.

632 *Tezontepec* was founded by order of the señor of Texcoco.[76] There is a homonym in the province of Axocopan.

Tlachyahualco appears in a few references as "Santana Tlachahualco," subject to Tepexpa. These are not adequate for locating it.[77]

Tlaquilpan appears on the Hidalgo map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento Atlas.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

648 635 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Acolhuacan Province was the heart of the late Chichimec Empire, one of the elements out of which the Triple Alliance was formed. As a consequence, virtually all the towns of the province were subject to Texcoco until the decline of that city-state, when some passed to Mexico. Memory of this change in ownership was preserved in such northern pueblos as Cempoala, Tlaquilpa, Pachuca, and Temazcalapa in the 1580's, as well as in Tezontepec, México.[78]

197 We also have some data on the shifting linguistic picture through the centuries. The obscure Chichimeca language spoken under the first lords of Acolhuacan was abandoned in favor of Náhuatl and Otomí, though it did not die out altogether.[79] The Náhuatl of Texcoco was considered the touchstone of elegance in the period of the European invasion.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—All along the eastern frontier of the province of Acolhuacan lay independent Tlaxcala, a former ally which had become an enemy. The western and northern boundaries of Tlaxcala are drawn roughly on our map. The other neighbors were all Empire provinces: Atotonilco el Grande to the north, Hueypuchtla and the lacustrine provinces to the west, and Chalco to the south.

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[76] RHE, 1: 152.

[77] *PNE*, 3: 44, n.; 6: 209.

[78] Cf. n. 82 below.

[79] The "Relación de Epaçoyuca" says that "los primeros fundadores de este pueblo hablauan lengua chichimeca porque su generacion eran chichimecos y despues hablaron sus hijos la lengua mexicana y hablan en general la lengua mexicana aunque ay algunos otomites advenedizos que hablan su lengua otomita y ay algunos chichimecos que hablan la lengua chichimeca" (RHE, 1: 141). The relación of Tetlyztaca observes: "la lengua es otomite advenediços de poco aca se fundaron por mandado del señor de tezcuco muy pocos hablan la lengua mexicana" (RHE, 1: 152). On the supplanting of Chichimeca by Náhuatl, see Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), *passim*.

TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—Acolhuacan Province is said to have given the following tribute:

CLOTHING [291]

2,000 bundles of large white "twisted" mantles[**]
1,200 bundles of rich thin mantles, in three styles[**]
400 bundles of loincloths[**] [714]
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses[**]
121 warriors' costumes with shields ("one fine piece")[**]

FOOD [262]

4 wooden bins (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli)

Tribute of the component towns.—Acolman (a) rendered tribute 632 of henequen garments, in bundles of twenty, every quarter, and 651 maguey leaves for fuel, but, to judge from a statement in the *Papeles de Nueva España* (6:213), this seems to have been destined for the local cacique.

Cenpoalan at first gave obsidian knives for war clubs to Texcoco. [412] After passing into Mexican hands it gave a canoe annually, and then, in the time of Moctezuma's predecessor, fowl and other things.[**]

Epaçoyucan and adjacent towns paid only obsidian knives until [412] Ahuizotl enlarged the temple of Huitzilopochtli and increased tribute demands generally. Thereafter they paid mantles and maize and domestic fowl.[**]

[**] Corrected from the *Mendocino* version: 103 pieces, 3 fine.

[**] RHE, 1: 131: "estos quatro pueblos y sus sujetos eran en tiempo de su gentilidad del señor de tetzcuco netzavvalcoyotzin andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico ytzcohuatzin pasaron los pueblos de senpuala y tlaquilpa y tecpilpa al señor de mexico solamente tzaquala se quedo en el senorio que sobre ellos tenia y reconocian siempre el Reyno de tetzcuco Reyno de aculhuaca tributaban nabajas con que hazian macanas y despues andando el tiempo y siendo señor en mexico ytzcohuatzin mucho tiempo no tributaron nada sino solamente cada año llebaban vna canoa a mexico hasta que en tiempo de ahuitzotzin antesesor de monteçuma fue el primero que mando tributasen mantas gallinas y todo genero de bolateria [this for a new temple] como sucedio Monteçuma en su lugar no quiso personarlos tributos."

[**] RHE, 1: 142: "eran del señorio de tezcuco ... no tributauan nada solamente nabajas con que hazian macanas y siendo senor en mexico ytzcohuatzin pidiole al señor de tezcuco que no tenia muchas tierras que le diese algunos pueblos de la comarca de mexico entonces se dividió este pueblo porque gozase tambien el señor de mexico las nabajas la mitad llevó el de tetzcuco y otra mitad el de mexico y entró tambien otros pueblos debaxo del señorio de mexico como cenpohuala tlaquilpa pachuca teçontepec y temazcalapa todos estos pueblos pasaron a mexico y estos pueblos ayudauan a sacar nabajas y no tenian otro tributo hasta que vino a señorear el antecesor de moteçoma que

632 651 Teotihuacan gave quarterly tribute of thick henequen mantles called "ichtilmatl" and maguey leaves for fuel.[illegible] However, the *Tratado del principado ... de San Juan Teotihuacan*[illegible] gives much ampler detail.

Tepechpa preserved the memory, in 1580, of various stages in its evolution as a tributary. At first its people paid their cacique products of the chase, then mantles of various sorts, and finally, *circa* 1450, a quarterly tribute of cotton mantles (fifty mantles, four *piernas* wide and eight *braças* long; thirty-four *braças* long and four *piernas* wide; and forty more of *tochomitl* style) as well as twenty loads of cacao [262] of Xoconochco (2,400 beans to the load), twenty loads of chile, and twenty of little peppers.[illegible]

[326] Tepetlaoztoc, as we see from the handsome *Codex Kingsborough*, gave rich articles of goldwork to its first colonial overlords—obviously a continuation of a long tradition.

Tetlyztaca paid henequen mantles "because they are poor people."[illegible]

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se llamava ahuitzotzin quiere decir nutria este fue el que mandó que tributasen mantas y mahiz y gallinas para hacer una fiesta quando acabó el templo del ydolo que llamauan huitzilopochtli desde entonces començaron los tributos deste pueblo y toda la comarca." Cf. n. 81 above for a similar case.

[illegible] *PNE*, 6: 221: "cada ochenta dias: algunas mantas de nequen gruesas que llaman ichtilmates y algunas cargas de pencas de maguey de esas que llaman metloni."

[illegible] Guzmán, "Un manuscrito de la colección Boturini ...," *Ethnos* (Stockholm, 1938), 3: 94.

[illegible] *PNE*, 6: 234: "cinquenta años antes del rreynado de Montezuma cada ochenta dias le tributauan cinquenta mantas de algodon de quatro piernas en ancho y ocho braças en largo, y otras treinta mantas de algodon de quatro braças en largo y quatro piernas de ancho, y otras quarenta mantas labrados de tochomytl para bestirse (cf. Atotonilco de Pedraza, p. 40), y beinte cargas de cacao de a beinte e quatro myll cacaos carga, de xoconosco, y quarenta naguas y otros tantos guipiles y beinte cargas de chile y otras tantas de pepitas."

[illegible] RHE, 1: 152.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

V. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHWEST

THERE IS a variety of evidence for ascribing a principal role to the 631 Acolhuaque in the parts of Morelos and Guerrero we are about 648 to examine. A list of towns paying tribute to Texcoco[1] names 175 nine towns of the Cuernavaca area—a situation fully confirmed by Ixtlilxochitl, who relates the invasion of this region by Empire troops and adds, "cupieron á Nezahualcoyotzin con la cabecera de Quauhnahuac nueve pueblos."[2] (Some of these nine pueblos are in Quauhnahuac Province; others, however, are in adjacent Huaxtepec.) Ixtlilxochitl also tells how Nezahualcoyotl overran Tlalcoçauhtitlan and placed a governor over it.[3]

To the nucleus of three provinces (Quauhnahuac, Huaxtepec, and [128] Tlalcoçauhtitlan) which the Acolhuaque certainly dominated, two others have been added (Chalco and Quiauhteopan). Their inclusion in this section is based on inference, a wish to maintain symmetry, the need of avoiding too many subdivisions, and the absence of conflicting evidence. It may be a great indiscretion.

21. Chalco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the nineteenth page of the *Matricula* and folio 41ʳ of the *Codex* 635 *Mendocino* appears the province of Chalco, containing six principal 114 towns, which lay in the south of the Valley of Mexico and reached down to the Valley of Morelos. Chalco is a province which presents several problems. Documents are curiously lacking, despite the great pre-Hispanic importance of the province. There is no sixteenth-century relación, for example, and maps of today are not very useful, but on the 1927 map of the "Estado de México" three of the towns have been [128] identified, as follows:

[103]

MENDOCINO	1927 MAP
Chalco, 1	Tlalmanalco
Quauhxumulco, 2	Cuajomulco
Tepuztlan, 3	Tepoztlan

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[1] Lehmann, vs. 1343.
[2] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 196.
[3] Quoted in n. 36 below.

635 Three others remain to be found: Malinaltepec, Tecmilco, and
103 Xocoyoltepec.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Chalco* itself is the first problem, for the same name appears on a pre-
[114] liminary leaf which is included in the *Mendocino* copy but must have been lost from the *Matricula.* There were really four Chalcos, and the writer has chosen to identify that on page 19 of the *Matricula* with Chalco-Tlalmanalco, rather than with Chalco-Atenco. (See p. 128, where Chalco-Atenco figures in the Çitlaltepec tribute zone.)

Malinaltepec is mentioned in the chronicles of Chalco as a near-by place seized by Moteczuma II in 1508 or 1509.[4]

Tecmilco is not identifiable as a town, but I am informed by Sr. Ezequiel Linares, of Tepoztlán, Morelos, that the name lingers as that of a plain, south of Tepoztlán.

Tepuztlan also appears twice in the codices discussed. Here we probably deal with the well-known town near Cuernavaca; the homonym is dealt with under Huaxtepec (23). This decision is based in part on the existence of the place name Tecmilco south of Tepoztlán, Morelos.

Xocoyoltepec appears in the Chalcan annals as belonging especially to Axayacatl of Mexico Tenochtitlan in 1480: it was near Amaquemecan (Amecameca) and in 1606 was given to the people of San Miguel.[5]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Chalca formed one of the tradition-
197 ally Náhuatl-speaking tribes supposed to have been companions during the migration period. They were closely related to the Xochimilca, whose territory they adjoined. Until a very late period they challenged Mexican power in the Valley.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Chalco (-Tlalmanalco)
131 faced eastward on Tlaxcala, the great volcano forming a natural

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[4] *Annales de ... Chimalpahin*, pp. 178 and 180.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 16 and 144.

[6] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 11: "la generacion Chalca ... se juntó con el de Xuchimilco y partió terminos con él quieta y pacificamente: tomó por cabeçera y principal asiento á Tlalmanalco, y de allí se dividieron ... á saber: Amecamecan, Tenango con todos los Quauxuclipas, Ayotzinco, Chalco Atenco, San Martin ... lo qual es mucho menos que lo que Xuchimilco ocupó por ser mucha mas gente la de aquel tribu que la deste otro."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

frontier. To the south was Huaxtepec, to the southwest Quauhnahuac, 635
and to the north the jigsaw-puzzle provinces of the heart of the Empire. 131

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The province of Chalco gave the 651
richest food tribute of the whole Empire:

CLOTHING

800 large mantles** [291
2 warriors' costumes with shields* 714]

FOOD*

6 wooden bins of maize
2 wooden bins of beans
2 wooden bins of chian [262]
2 wooden bins of huauhtli

22. QUAUHNAHUAC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The fourth page of the *Matricula* shows us a series of towns headed by 635
Quauhnahuac, a name the Spaniards, in an unfortunate jest, changed 114
to Cuernavaca.[1] This province now forms the western half of the State of Morelos, with a very minor prolongation south into Guerrero. There are sixteen of these town glyphs, all of which are copied in the *Mendocino* on folio 23^r, with the tribute lists running over onto folio 23^v. The *Mendocino* annotator seems to have made one of his rare slips, identifying one of the glyphs wrongly, as shown below. The map of this province is based on the 1910 "Carta General del Estado de [128]
Morelos" (Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora), on which the following towns have been located: 103

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP	MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Acatlyepac, 4	Acatlipa	Quauhnahuac, 2	Cuernavaca
Amacoztitla, 14	Amacuzac	Teocalçinco, 17	Teocalzingo (Gro.)
Atlicholoayan, 9	Atlacholoaya	Xiuhtepec, 3	Xiutepec
Coatlan, 7	Coatlán del Río	Xochitepec, 6	[No change]
Chimalco, 16	Panchimalco	Xoxoutla, 15	Jojutla de Juárez
Huiçilapã, 1	Huitzilac	Yztla, 11	Puente de Ixtla
Miacatla, 5	[No change]		

Three towns remain to be located: Molotla, Ocpayucã, and Yztepec.

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[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40) speaks of the "pueblo que se dice Coadlabaca [!] e comúnmente corrompemos agora aquel bocablo y le llamamos Cuernavaca."

635 103 We know from a list of towns in this province which paid tribute to Texcoco that the following towns, in addition to those given in the *Matricula,* were likewise pre-Hispanic subjects: Atlpoyecan (8), Maçatepec (10), Tlaquiltenanco (13), and Cacatepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atlpoyecan* is clearly Alpuyeca.

Amacoztitla is almost surely the modern Amacuzac. A parallel truncation has occurred in the name Acamilyxtlahuacan (Acamixtla) in adjacent Tlachco Province.

Chimalco, the *Mendocino* version, is corrected to read "Panchimalco," since the glyph clearly shows a banner (*pantli*) and a shield (*chimalli*); the *Matricula* also bears the correct annotation. Moreover, there exists a town of Panchimalco today, and none called Chimalco.

Molotla is said, in a mid-sixteenth-century source,[8] to be a subject of Xiuhtepec.

[712] *Quauhnahuac.* That Quauhnahuac was the big Mexican garrison of the region is evident from Bernal Díaz, who speaks of it as "muy mejor y mayor" than Yauhtepec.[9] After its surrender the caciques asked his pardon for not having given in earlier, because the Mexicans had ordered resistance and augmented their garrison.[10]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Of the inhabitants, to whom the name Tlalhuica is applied, Sahagún writes: "These tlalhuica are those who are settled in the hot country, and they are náhuas, of Mexican speech; in their land much cotton is produced, and aji, and all other foodstuffs."[11]

181 He goes on to say that Tlalhuicatl means "incapable, unable"—a typical bit of native arrogance—and that their defects are that "they go around too much dressed-up, and carrying flowers in their hands"

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[8] *Códices indígenas* (1933), Codices 12 and 13.

[9] "Avia dentro en el mucha gente de guerra, ansi de mexicanos como de los naturales" (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], II: 40).

[10] "[El] Señor de Mexico les enbio a mandar que pues estavan en fortaleza que desde alli nos diesen guerra e que les enbio vn buen esquadron de mexicanos para que les ayudasen" (*ibid.*, p. 41).

[11] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 132.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

and are "muy tímidos y toscos o torpes." This seems to have been a general opinion.[12] Quauhnahuac was their principal town, from which they spread south and into what later became Huaxtepec Province.[13] 181 [632]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Quauhnahuac was surrounded by other provinces of the Empire. The intricate provinces of the Valley of Mexico lay to the north. Eastward were Chalco and Huaxtepec, and in the south Tlalcoçauhtitlan. Tepequacuilco, Tlachco, and Malinalco formed the western borders, from south to north. 635 131

Quauhnahuac itself was subject to Texcoco specifically. There was a special room in the palace at Texcoco for storing the tribute of this southern province[14] and even a detailed list of what Texcoco received.

Regional names.—The region is called Tlalhuic, by one source, at least.[15] 635

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following goods were exacted from the Cuernavaca region: 651

CLOTHING

1,200 bundles of large "twisted" mantles** [291]
800 bundles of little white mantles**
1,200 bundles of little mantles "richly worked, the sort the lords and caciques wore"**
400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's skirts and blouses**
8 warriors' costumes with shields*[16] [714]

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[12] Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "los tlalhuicas que era la gente mas tosca destos seis tribus ... ."

[13] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 12: "llegaron los Tlaluiccas [*sic*] ... los quales cumo allaron ocupado lo demas, asentaron en lugar que agora poseen, tomando por prencipal asiento y cabeça de su provincia, á Cuauhnauac, de donde salieron los Señores de aquella congregacion á hacer sus moradas y asientos como los demas, unos á Yahutepec, otros á Oaxtepec, á Acapichtlan, á Tlaquiltenanco con todos los demas pueblos, villas y estancias que llamamos Marquesado, pues es el del felicísimo Marqués del Valle."

[14] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 180. A plan of the Texcoco palace and its storerooms figures in the *Códice Quinatzin*.

[15] Códice Ramírez, fol. 20: "llamaron estos a su provincia Tlalhuic porque la poblaron los Tlalhuica."

[16] Among these was the "Huaxtec" (Cuextecatl) dress with its peaked cap so typical of the statuary and divinities of that region. In the *Matricula* it is clearly marked "cetecpantli cuextecatl toztli," "one yellow Huaxtec costume"—which confirms Seler's identification of the style from literary sources alone. He says, "Ich kein Bild kenne, das durch eine Beischrift als cuextecatl Devise gekennzeichnet wäre" (Seler, *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur Amerikanischen Sprach- und Alterthumskunde* [1902–1923], II: 603–610).

651

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden bins, 1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli*

OTHER GOODS

[323 2,000 pottery bowls**
289] 8,000 reams of native paper**

651 632 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Coatlan [del Río], not many decades after the Spanish Conquest, gave its new masters goods which were probably similar to its former tribute. This was still paid by the old calendar system on four of the fiestas, or "cada ochenta dias," as it is expressed. They gave the following:

76 pesos of unrefined gold (*tepuzque*)
2 jars of honey
6 women's skirts
6 women's blouses

and made four "sementeras" of maize."[11]

23. HUAXTEPEC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 The province of Huaxtepec, with twenty-six towns, is represented on the fifth page of the *Matricula* and on folio 24ᵛ and 25ʳ of the *Mendocino*. The glyph in the lower right-hand corner of the *Matricula* page has been worn away, but the corresponding one in the *Mendocino* may be seen as "Huiçilan." Every town is identified in roman letters in both manuscripts, and the two versions agree except in details of spelling. [128] This province formed the eastern part of modern Morelos State, and the present map is based on the "Carta General del Estado de Morelos," of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora (1910). Former and present 103 place names are compared below:

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Ahuehuepan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Amilçinco, 19	Amilcingo
Anenecuilco, 16	[No change]
Atlatlauca, 5	Atlatlahucan
Ayoxochapā, 24	Axochiapan
Coacalco, 4	Oacalco
Huaxtepec, 7	Oaxtepec

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[11] *PNE*, 1: No. 163.

103

MENDOCINO	1910 MAP
Huiçilan, 22	Huitchila
Nepopoalco, 1	Nepozualco
Olintepec, 18	[No change]
Quahuitlyxco, 14	Cuautlixco
Quauhtlan, 15	Cuautla Morelos
Tecpaçinco, 23	Tepaltzingo
Tlaltiçapã, 21	Tlaltizapan
Tlayacac, 17	Tlayecac
Tlayacapã, 3	Tlayacapan
Totolapã, 2	Totolapan
Xaloztoc, 20	Xaloxtoc
Xochimilcaçinco, 13	Xochimecatzingo
Yacapichtla, 12	Yecapixtla
Yauhtepec, 11	Yautepec
Yzamatitla, 6	Itzamatitlan

Four towns remain to be located: Atlhuelic, Tehuizco, Tepoztlã, and Çonpanco.

To the foregoing list the names of certain other towns have been added, as follows: Hueyapan (10), Ocopetlayuca (9), and Tetela [del Volcán] (8).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Ahuehuepan: "Entre las Haciendas del Calderón y el Hospital se ven 632
los restos de San Pedro Ahuehuepan y de Xochimilcacingo a la orilla, 175
respectivamente, de dos barrancas tributarias de los afluentes del Río de Cuautla," according to Miguel Salinas, cited in Sotelo Inclán, *Raíz y Razon de Zapata, Anenecuilco* (1943), p. 59. The latter adds that Ahuehuepan existed half a league from Cuauhtla, and that its lands were taken away and the town was swallowed up by the Hacienda del Hospital at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

Huaxtepec is cited by Cortés in his *Cartas y relaciones* (p. 213) as 632
"Guastepeque, ... donde estaba la Gente de Culúa en Guarnición." 131

Hueyapan was subject to the Mexicans, and formerly to the Xochimilca.[19] Since it was linked to Cuauhtla Amilpas during the colonial period, it has been placed in the same province as that town.

Tehuizco is listed in a sixteenth-century source as being a league from Totolapa,[20] but cannot be found today.

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[19] *PNE*, 6: 285: "eran antiguamente subjetas y tributarias a la corona Real de Mexico, pero la prinçipall subjeçion que deste pueblo de Tetella y Veyapan tenian era a Suchimilco."

[20] *PNE*, 6: 7, where Nepopoalco [Nepozualco] is located as half a league from Totolapan.

632 *Tetela* [*del Volcán*] has been placed in this province because of its linkage with Hueyapan (*q.v.*).

Tepoztlan is probably not the "Ciudad" northeast of Cuernavaca, which seems to figure in the province of Chalco. It may be a pueblo subject to Ahuacuozingo, Morelos.

Xochimilcaçinco (see Ahuehuepan, above).

Yacapichtla is a name already corrupt in native days. "Xihuitz acapitzalan" was the original form.[illegible]

Çonpanco may possibly be Zompahuacan, southeast of Tecpaçinco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

101
197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The northern quarter of this province of Huaxtepec was part of the former domain of the Xochimilca, a tribe which peopled the regions south and west of the volcano. Towns definitely stated to have belonged to the Xochimilca of this region are Totolapan, Tlayacapan,[illegible] and Yacapichtla.[illegible] It will be noted also that a town called "Xochimilcaçinco" lies in the north-central part of this province.

West and south of the Xochimilca were the towns of another Náhua tribe—the Tlalhuica, who inhabited the territory from Huaxtepec to Quauhnahuac.[illegible]

The Xochimilca were Náhuatl speakers,[illegible] and so were the Tlalhuica.[illegible]

635
131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Huaxtepec lay the fellow province of Quauhnahuac. North of it was the Mexicanized province of Chalco, once an independent state. To the east were Tlaxcala and the Empire province of Tepeyacac, extending from south of Popocatepetl to south of the other great mountain, Citlaltepetl or Orizaba. In the southeast, a miserably documented region, the province of Quiauhteopan must have formed the border.

[illegible] RHE, 1: 221: "es notorio esta villa de acapiztla se llama asi porque antiguamente se llamaba xihuitza capitzala porque los senores que la gobernaban trayan unos chalchiuites atravesados en las nariçes y que eso queria decir y como agora está la lengua corruta se dize y le llaman ayacapiztla." The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* inscriptions indicate that the corruption is ancient.

[illegible] Durán, *Historia de las indias de Nueva España* (1867–1880), I: 10.

[illegible] RHE, 1: 225: "los que poblaron á esta villa heran como está dicho de xuchimillos."

[illegible] See pp. 76–77.

[illegible] RHE, 1: 225: The people of Yacapichtla spoke "la lengua ... de Suchimillco que aunque es mexicano difieren en algunos bocablos en ser mas cortesano e mas cortes."

[illegible] See pp. 76–77.

Only in the northeast was there any contact with enemy terrain. 635
There Tetela and Hueyapan are described as frontier towns,[illegible] while 131
memory of conflict with the dwellers of the plateau also persisted in Totolapan and adjacent towns well within the province.[illegible]

Regional names.—The zone of the towns specified as Xochimilca, together with near-by Atlatlauca, was called Quauhtengo.[illegible] South of Yacapichtla lay another district referred to as the Tlalnahuac, in which Tlayacac and Tecpaçinco were prominent centers.[illegible]

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—In the *Matricula* we see, and in the 651
Mendocino we read of, the following opulent tribute which flowed to the Triple Alliance from the province of Huaxtepec:

CLOTHING [291]

400 bundles of loincloths**
400 bundles of women's clothing**
1,400 bundles of large mantles of "twisted" cloth**
8,000 bundles of rich little mantles**
46 warriors' costumes with shields (6 being fine pieces)* [714]

FOOD*

4 large wooden cribs (1 each of maize, beans, chian, and huauhtli) [262]

OTHER GOODS**

2,000 polished pottery dishes of various colors [323
8,000 reams of native paper 289]

Tribute of the component towns.—Rather curiously, no details are 632
available on the origins of the foregoing tribute, military aid and 651
prisoners alone being mentioned. [727]

[illegible] *PNE*, 6: 286.

[illegible] Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan "trayan guerras" with "Chalco, Guexoçingo, Taxcala, Chelula; las quales heran sobre sus tierras" (*PNE*, 6: 9). We read in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), §§ 1202–1203, how the people of Totolapan accompanied Nezahualpilli in a successful campaign against Huexotzinco in 11. Tochtli, 1490.

[illegible] "Estan las dichas tres cabezeras asentadas en tierra llana, çercadas de montes y sierras no muy altos: llamase la Probincia Quahutengo, y dixose asi porque los mas de sus subjetos estan poblados en montes, y en la dicha lengua se dize el monte quahutla o quahutengo" (*PNE*, 6: 10).

[illegible] RHE, 1: 224: "Los pueblős de la tlalnahuac son catorze cabeçeras caen casi todas desta villa [Yacapichtla] á la parte del sur dizen llamarse asi porque es tierra llana y mas caliente questa la una cabeçera dizen que antiguamante no abia mas de dos cabeçeras que heran tequepaçinco y tlayalaque y que los demas heran estançias y asi agora se nombran catorze cabeçeras."

651 Atlatlauca, Totolapan, and Tlayacapan gave no tribute because they
632 were near the frontier, as mentioned above.

[727] Yacapichtla seems to have made a tribute of prisoners.

24. TLALCOÇAUHTITLAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635
114 Page 18 of the *Matricula* depicts three provinces, their town glyphs and tribute being ranged in vertical sections. The left-hand section, in which the cabecera is identified in roman letters, sets forth the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan. This part of the page is copied in the *Codex Mendocino* as the top section of folio 40ʳ. The province lay in central-eastern Guerrero and consisted of eight towns, four of which have [128] been identified—chiefly on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society (sheet "Ciudad de México"). Former and present name forms are listed below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Ahuaçiçinco, 4	Ahuacuotzingo
Mitzinco, 3	Mitlalcingo
Tlalcoçauhtitlã, 2	Tlalcozotitlán
Tolimani, 1	Tulimán

Four other towns remain to be located: Quauhtecomaccinco, Tepuztitlã, Ychcatlan, and Çacatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632
131 *Quauhtecomaccinco*, according to one lone reference, was four leagues from Olinalá.

Tepuztitlan may be a Tepuztlan San Miguel, subject to Chiautla, from which it lay eight leagues distant.

Ychcatlan was four leagues from Tlalcoçauhtitlan "de muy mal camino de sierras" and eighteen leagues from Tlapan, being an estancia of Tenango.

"El señor natural ... fue Montezuma, al qual no tributaban, porque solo le servian en las guerras" (*PNE*, 6: 8).

The "Relación de Yecapichtla," after stating (RHE, 1: 225) that "aunque motençuma los quiso señorear no pudo vençellos y asi estuvieron siempre de por si y sobre si," admits (p. 227) that "los que de aquellos prendian los llevaban a presentar a motençuma."

PNE, 5: 210.

PNE, 5: 250.

GPM, p. 112.

GPM, p. 104.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—According to the Mendizabal-Jiménez 101
Moreno linguistic map, Tlalcoçauhtitlan embraced a diversity of 197
languages. Apart from the predominant Náhuatl, areas of Tlapanec, Matlame, and the unclassified Tuxteca are noted. The province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan was brought into the Empire by Nezahualcoyotl, who placed a governor over it.

Provincial borders in 1519.—West of Tlalcoçauhtitlan lay the prov- 635
ince of Tepequacuilco; east of it Quiauhteopan, and to the north 131
Quauhnahuac and Huaxtepec. These were Empire provinces. On the south, however, it gave on obscure and bellicose Yopitzinco.

TRIBUTE

651

Tribute of the whole province.—The yellow earth which gave its name to the province of Tlalcoçauhtitlan naturally figured in its tribute, which was as follows:

CLOTHING

[illegible]00 bundles of large mantles** [291 714]
1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

100 pots of bee honey** [263]

OTHER GOODS

20 dishes of *tecoçahuitl*, "ques un barnyz amarillo con que se enbixavan" [323]

Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 198: Nezahualcoyotl "... fué sobre la [provincia] de Tlauhcocauhtitlan y la ganó, en donde puso por su mayordomo á Huitzilatecuh, en donde se le daban de tributo y reconocimiento en cada un año diez y seis bateas de color y veinte cargas de copal, doscientas sesenta y ocho jícaras y tecomates finos, y veinte cargas de varas de tlacuilol quahuitle." The last item is clarified by Sahagún (*Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], III: 222): "Hay unos árboles silvestres que se llaman tacuiloquauitl, que quiere decir que tiene madera pintada, porque ellos son bermejos, y tienen las vetas negras que parecen pinturas sobre el bermejo; es árbol muy preciado, porque de él se hacen teponaztles, tamboriles y vihuelas, y suenan mucho estos instrumentos cuando son de esta madera; y por ser muy pintada y de buen parecer es muy preciada."

Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 315) includes among the tribute from the Huaxteca "betun amarillo que [illegible]an Tecuexalis y tecozahuitl con que untan y tiñen jícaras, y ablandan manos y pi[illegible]

Editorial note (C. O. Sauer): This Náhua word may possibly also signify the yellowish lacquer base, prepared from Coccus insects. The intermediate slopes between the volcanic highlands and the Balsas lowland were and are the chief source of this substance, prized in the aboriginal crafts of central and southern Mexico. [237]

651 This differs entirely from the tribute imposed by the Alcolhuaque on first conquering the province, which tribute consisted of:

323 16 pieces of colored lacquer
313 268 fine *jícaras* and *tecomates*
314 20 loads of fine cabinetmaker's wood
20 loads of copal[illegible]

25. QUIAUHTEOPAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 On the *Matricula* page depicting three provinces (p. 18), the section extending vertically down the middle represents the province of Quiauhteopan. This section is copied in the *Codex Mendocino*, folio 40ʳ, as the middle stripe, but is placed horizontally there. Quiauhteopan Province lay in eastern Guerrero, and may have extended north into Puebla. Of its six towns, three have been identified, the "Millionth 125 Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having been used as point of departure. Correspondence of old and modern names is noted below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Olinalan, 1	Olinalá
Qualac, 2	Cualac
Quiauhteopan (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three other towns remain to be identified: Quauhtecomatla, Xala, and Ychcatla.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtecomatla* may be the "Tecomatlan" cited in one old document emanating from this region.[illegible] This Tecomatlan appears much later as "Joya de Tecomatlan" and is identified as a rancho seven leagues "Les Nordeste" of Chilapa, to which it was subject.[illegible]

131 *Quiauhteopan* was subject to Olinalan (Olinalá), from which it lay three leagues distant, in a direction not given.[illegible] It has been placed in the otherwise blank region north of Olinalá. Quiauhteopan figures in the conquest lists along with Tlalcoçauhtitlan and Ohuapa.

[illegible] The list is quoted in n. 36 above.

[illegible] *PNE*, 5: 251.

[illegible] AGN, Padrones, 16: 108ᵛ. Petatlan is given by the same source as seven leagues east of Chilapa.

[illegible] *PNE*, 5: 210.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The Mendizabal-Jiménez Moreno linguistic map indicates great linguistic complexity for this province: Náhuatl, Mixtec, Tlapenec, and Matlame. 101 197

Olinalan, celebrated for its lacquer-work, probably carried on that activity in pre-Hispanic times. From adjacent Tlalcoçauhtitlan Province, perhaps only a few kilometers away, "bateas" went as tribute to Texcoco.* [551]

Provincial borders in 1519.—Because half the towns of the province cannot be identified on the maps of unexplored Guerrero, the north of this province is a great blank. It bordered, probably, on Huaxtepec Province in that direction, as on the west with Tlalcoçauhtitlan, on the east with Yoaltepec, and on the south with Tlapan, all of them fellow tributaries. 635 131

Regional names.—Somewhere in the dubious northeast began the region known as Totollan.*

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Quiauhteopan was a rich mining region, as is shown by the following list of its tribute to the highlands: 651

CLOTHING

400 large mantles** [291
1 warrior's costume with shield* 714]

FOOD

100 jars of bee honey* [263]

OTHER GOODS

40 large copper bells** [326
80 copper axeheads** 317]
1 dish of little turquoises*

Tribute of the component towns.—Olinalan, in the mid-sixteenth century, rendered a sizable quarterly tribute of base gold, cacao, money resulting from the sale of cacao, and sixty little jars of honey (over 632 651

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* See the section on Tlalcoçauhtitlan, above.

* *PNE*, 5: 57: "Piaztla … está en la provincia de los Totoltecas de lengua mexicana diferente de los de la Misteca sujetos a la dotrina de la cabecera de Acatlan." Of the same town, it is said farther on (5: 77): "En este pueblo se habla la lengua mexicana corrupta, porque es de la provincia de Totola."

632 half the honey formerly paid by the province, according to the *Ma-
651 tricula*). Besides this, two special milpas were cultivated and their
[316] yield was sent to the near-by mines of Ayoteco.[illegible]

[illegible] *PNE*, 1: No. 437: "Dan de tributo cada ochenta dias quinientos y veinte y ocho pesos y dos tomines de tipuzque, y catorce xiquipiles de cacao y seis mill y dozientos y ochenta cacaos, y esto dan al dicho su amo en dineros que son quatroçientos y çinquenta pesos, y ocho xiquipiles de cacao y sesenta xarrillos de miel, y cada año le hazen dos sementeras de majz y se lo ponen en las minas de Ayoteco." On *tipuzque*, see Bancroft, *History of Mexico* (1883), II: 7, and Boban, *Documents pour servir à l'histoire du Mexique* (1890), II: 416 and 450.

VI. THE OLD ACOLHUA DOMAIN: THE SOUTHEAST

THE ACOLHUAQUE conquered the lands along the southern Gulf 175 coast as well as those of the northern. Documentation is sparse but sufficient. Ixtlilxochitl names Tlatlauhquitepec and Quauhtochco, Cuetlaxtlan, and Tochtepec all as conquests made by Texcoco, and each of these towns heads a page of lesser tributaries in the *Matricula*. The "Relación de Cempoalla" supports Ixtlilxochitl and also tells by what means the Mexica later acquired the Texcocan dominions.

Xoconochco, the far-flung southern province, has been added to 128 chapter vi simply because it fits no better elsewhere. It is the only province in this group of five which cannot certainly be called old Acolhua terrain.

26. TLATLAUHQUITEPEC

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlatlauhquitepec lay in north-central Veracruz, ex- 635 tending somewhat into northern Puebla. The *Matricula* leaf on the 114 recto side of which it is painted belongs between pages 26 and 27 of the manuscript as it exists today, but long ago it was torn out and taken to Philadelphia.[1] This detached page "26A" is copied in its proper place in the *Mendocino*, as folio 51ʳ. Of the eleven principal [128] towns of the province, nine have been located, largely on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Old and modern names follow: 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Atenco, 8	[See Remarks on Towns]
Ayutuchco, 5	Ayotoxco
Teotlalpan, 1	Hueytlalpan
Teçiutlan, 9	Teziutlán
Tlatlauhquitepec, 7	[No change]
Xonoctla, 3	Jonotla
Yaunahuac, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yayauquitlalpa, 4	Yancuitlalpan
Ytztepec, 2	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns remain to be found: Caltepec and Yxcoyamec.

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[1] See Introduction, p. 7.

103 An unpublished relación adds Xoxopanco (a) and Tzotzocolco (b). The following towns have been added on the basis of other information: Acatlan (10), Tlaculula (11), and Xilotepec (12).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Acatlan* was a Mexican garrison town.[2]

[712] *Atenco* is probably "Atempan," which was a "cabecera por si en la corona" in the sixteenth century[3] and which may be found today on the Puebla map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento atlas.

Teotlalpan may be identified with modern Hueytlalpan, the *teo>huey* change having been noted elsewhere.[4]

Tlaculula (also called Hueycalli) "fue subjeto y tributaua a Monteçuma."[5] It seems to have been a major pre-Mexican center.[6]

[131] *Tzotzocolco* lay north of "Güeytlalpan," near Xocopanco.

Xilotepec is cited as a tributary in the note to Tlaculula, above.

[131] *Xoxopanco* lay five leagues north of "Gueytlalpan" and east of Zacatlan, according to an unpublished relación.

Yaunahuac appears on the Puebla map of 1908.

Yayauquitlalpa was an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec.[7]

Ytztepec appears as "Ixtepec" on the 1908 map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Yxcoyamec is mentioned as "Yxcuyomec," an estancia of Tlatlauhquitepec, in the mid-sixteenth century.[8]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Tlatlauhquitepec was a conquest of the Acolhuaque of Texcoco;[9] its speech was chiefly Totonac and Náhuatl.

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[2] *PNE*, 5: 113.

[3] *GPM*, p. 9: *ENE*, 14: 79.

[4] Cf. p. 23 above. In the present case, the *visita* of Diego Ramírez gives us a link, if any be really needed. In July, 1552, he is visiting Tlatlacotepeque [*sic*] and Gueytlalpa, "belonging to His Majesty" (*ENE*, 6: 174). A month later he sets the tribute of Teutlalpa to His Majesty and goes on to Tlatlacotepec (*ENE*, 8: 153). Further references to the town may be found in *Procesos contra indios idólatras*, Publ. AGN (1912), 3: 205–215.

[5] *PNE*, 5: 108.

[6] *PNE*, 5: 106: Xilotepec " ... rreconoçian con sus tributos al pueblo de Tlaculula y despues a Monteçuma: tributaban maiz, gallinas, liquidambar." *PNE*, 5: 110: Quaquauzintlan "eran de Tlaculula y despues fueron de Montezuma."

[7] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 522.

[9] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320.

Provincial borders in 1519.—This was the northernmost of the three 635 provinces lying east of Tlaxcala and separating it from the sea. North 131 of it was Tuchpa; northwest, Tlapacoyan; and to the south, Quauhtochco.

Regional names.—The northern part of the province was part of the Totonacapan.

TRIBUTE 651

Tribute of the whole province.—The tribute of Tlatlauhquitepec held little variety:

CLOTHING [291 714]

1,608 bundles[30] of black-and-white striped mantles**
2 warriors' costumes and shields*

OTHER GOODS

800 cakes of liquidambar**[31] [314]

Tribute of the component towns.—Xilotepec gave maize, chickens,[1/A] 632 and liquidambar.[32] 651

Teotlalpan (Hueytlalpan) gave cotton mantles.[33]

Xoxopanco and Tzotzocolco "... antiguamente tributaban a montecuma mantas de algodón," according to the unpublished relación mentioned above.

27. QUAUHTOCHCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Quauhtochco was one of the provinces cutting Tlaxcala off from the 635 sea. Glyphs of its seven principal towns are painted on page 24 of the 114 *Matricula* and on folio 48ʳ of the *Mendocino*. By means of the 1908 [128] map of Veracruz,[34] in the center of which area this province lay, five 103 of these towns may be identified, as follows:

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP	MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Ahuilizapan, 5	Orizaba	Tuchçonco, 3	Tozongo
Quauhtochco, 2	Huatusco	Ytzteyocan, 4	S. Nicolas
Tototlan, 1	Totutla		

Two others remain to be located: Quauhtetelco and Teuhçoltzapotlā.

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[30] Corrected from 1,600.

[31] Cf. Krickeberg, *Los totonaca* (1933), pp. 111–112, for an examination of tribute from this province.

[32] Cf. n. 6 above.

[33] RHE, 1: 46a: "eran basallos de monteçuma tributabanle mantas de algodon."

[34] Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

[1/A] [Chickens are not known to date from pre-Spanish times in the New World. In this case, the word may be a generic term for fowl.—Analyst]

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Quauhtochco* figures among the garrison towns on folio 17^v of the
[712] *Mendocino* (see p. 128, n. 1), though no governor is mentioned.

Tuchçonco, though shown in the *Matricula* as a pre-Hispanic town,
[175] seems to have been resettled in the sixteenth century. There are various documents concerning this resettlement, now kept in the Archivo General de la Nación, in Mexico City.[25]

Teuhçoltzapotlan was a doubtful name even to the *Mendocino* commentator.[26]

Ytzteyocan, like Tuchçonco, was subject to Cuescomatepec from the sixteenth century on.[27] It was later called San Nicolas Tolentino, then San Nicolas del Gentil, and, finally, Juventino Rosas.[28]

Ytzteyocan figures on folio 17^v of the *Mendocino,* among the garrison towns (see p. 128, n. 1), although no mention is made of a governor or governors.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635
197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The troops of Texcoco brought Quauhtochco itself into the Empire.[29] After various uprisings in the fifteenth century, it was finally so well assimilated that it remained faithful to Moctezuma in the Spanish Conquest.[30] Náhuatl was the native tongue; what preceded it is doubtful.

635
131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the west of Quauhtochco was Tlaxcala; to the east the sea, from which Quauhtochco barred that dwindling state. Two Empire provinces lay to the north and south: Tlatlauhquitepec and Cuetlaxtlan.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Quauhtochco consisted of a narrow range of items:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 large mantles[31]

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[25] E.g., AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36 and 40: 170^v, speaks of "tuçongo, subjeto al [pueblo] de san ju^o cuexcomatepeque de la juridizion de guatusco." Dominguez (*Coscomatepec de Bravo: I* [1943], p. 42) publishes the earlier document.

[26] He first wrote "çolan" and then rubbed it out.

[27] AGN, Mercedes, 1: 36, calls it "ytzeyuca," and the same ramo, 18: 305^v, "ytsoyuca."

[28] Dominguez, *Coscomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), pp. 17 and 56.

[29] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.

[30] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), pp. 260–261.

651

FOOD

20 loads of cacao* [262]

OTHER GOODS

1,600 bales of cotton* [248]

Tribute of the component towns.—Ytzteyocan and Quauhtochco, 632 fifteen years after the Conquest, were paying their Spanish masters 651 what they doubtless had paid in pre-Hispanic times: cacao and cotton.[*]

28. CUETLAXTLAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Cuetlaxtlan appears on page 25 of the *Matricula* and on folio 49ʳ of the 635 *Codex Mendocino*. It was the southernmost of the provinces which 114 kept Tlaxcala from salt and the sea. It was in Cuetlaxtlan Province, which lay in south-central Veracruz, that Cortés landed. Of the pre-Hispanic centers, three have been located, mostly by the help of documents. The "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, [128] sheet "Ciudad de México," has been used as a framework for the present map, with the results given below: 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Cuetlaxtlan, 2	Cotaxtla
Mictlanquauhtla, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teoçiocan (?), 1	[See Remarks on Towns]

Three more towns remain to be located: Acozpã, Oxichan, and Tlapanicytlã.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Cuetlaxtlan was a Mexican presidio in the final native period.[*] 632

Mictlanquauhtla lay half a league from the mouth of the Río Medellín, according to an unpublished land grant.[*] [131]

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[*] According to a document published by Dominguez, *Coscomatepec de Bravo: I* (1943), p. 31.

[*] RHE, 1: 158: "para seguridad de los forçados é quietud desta tierra se dize que tenian los señores mexicanos dos presidios e fortaleças con guarniçion e gente de guerra que heran cotastla ... y el otro hera otopa questá ocho leguas desta ciudad á la banda de noroeste." This Otopa is said to have been almost deserted by the time of the sixteenth-century writer.

[*] Dated April 12, 1575, and preserved in the AGN, Mercedes, 10: 61: "don myn enrriquez &c por la presente en nombre de su magᵈ hago mᵉᵈ a joan sarmyento vezino de la ciudad de los angeles de un sitio de estancia para ganado menor en termynos del pº de myctlanquauhtla media legua poco mas o menos de la voca del rrio de medellin dentro de los medanos en vn cerro."

652 *Teoçiocan* is called "Teocinyocan" by another native source.[24] It is perhaps an estancia of Zongolica (a), "en tierra fria," called San Juan de Teoyxuacan, two leagues from the cabecera.[25]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

175 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Cuetlaxtlan, we are told by a Texcocan chronicler, was conquered by that power,[26] a statement confirmed by the "Relación de Cempoalla."[27] The pre-Hispanic language was Náhuatl.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—Cuetlaxtlan lay between Quauhtochco and Tochtepec, which were on the northwest and on the southeast respectively. Northeastward was the sea, and to the southwest was a doubtful region embracing at least one free city-state of the Mazateca.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Cuetlaxtlan, in contrast with that of adjacent Quauhtochco, was variegated:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 women's blouses and skirts**
400 small mantles, borders black and white**
400 half-quilted mantles**
400 mantles of 4 brazas each**
400 large white mantles, 4 brazas each**
160 very rich mantles for lords and caciques**
1,200 black-and-white striped mantles**
714 2 warriors' costumes with shields*
317 1 string of chalchiuites*
237 400 bunches of quetzal feathers*
2 lip plugs of crystal, with blue and gold mountings*
301 20 lip plugs, light amber, mounted in gold*
1 hair adornment of quetzal feathers*

FOOD

[262] 200 loads of cacao*

Cuetlaxtlan paid cacao and cotton mantles, both white and decorated.[28]

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[24] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), IV: 134.
[25] *PNE*, 5: 230.
[26] Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), I: 320 and II: 196.
[27] RHE, 1: 131.
[28] *PNE*, 5: 9: "tributavanle cacao y mantas de algodón blancas e pintadas."

29. Tochtepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

Tochtepec, the rich and sprawling province which lay in north- 635 eastern Oaxaca, southern Veracruz, and Tabasco, was depicted on 114 another of the leaves which are missing from the *Matriculc*. We know that it should appear on the verso side of a leaf between pages 22 and 23 of the present manuscript, because of the arrangement of the *Mendocino* copy, folio 46ʳ. This lost page "22B" contained twenty-two 125 principal towns, a dozen of which have been located on the base of the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Old and modern names are compared below: 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Coçamaloapã, 12	Cosamaloapan
Chinantlan, 10	[See Remarks on Towns]
Mixtlan, 13	
Otlatitlan, 4	Otlatlán
Oxitlan, 2	Ojitlán
Puctlan (? 5)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teotlilan, 1	Teutila
Tlacotlalpã, 6	Tlacotalpan
Tochtepec, 3	Tuxtepec
Tototepec, 9	[See Remarks on Towns]
Toztlan, 7	
Yxmatlatlan, 11	[See Remarks on Towns]

Various towns have not been located. Some of the following, when found, may provide the obscure route to the southern province of Xochonochco:

Ayotzintepec
Ayoçintepec
Cuezcomatitlã
Michapan, 14 (?)
Michtlan
Teteutlan
Tzinacanoztoc
Xayaco
Xicaltepec
Yaotlan

We may add the following town to the province: Ucila (8).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Chinantlan has been identified with Valle Nacional. The matter is 632 discussed by Bevan. There is a curious division of evidence regarding 648 the relationship of Chinantlan to the Empire. It appears in the *Ma-*

It appears in the Ma-
632 *tricula*, which is the criterion of the present work, and the sixteenth-
648 century relación says clearly enough that "este señor rreconoçia a
[175] Moteçuma," but Cortés himself, in his letters, explains that it[1] was not subject to the Empire, and copies a message from his captains there who held out during the Spanish flight from the capital. These write that they were daily at war, during this period, with the Tochtepec garrison." A less reliable document also claims independence for the Chinantec." Presumably they were in reality subject, but precariously so, to Moctezuma.

632 131 *Puctlan*. There were two pre-Conquest Puctlans in this province. One, in the highlands of Oaxaca (no. 5), still exists as Putla, southwest of Tlaxiaco. The other (a) lay among the lagoons of the Río Alvarado, three leagues from Yxmatlahuacan," three from Acula, and four from an unlocated Tlatlayan."

632 712 *Tochtepec* was a Mexican garrison town, as the letters of Cortés show." The "Relación de Chinantla" tells how judicial matters were forwarded to Moctezuma's garrison there."

632 131 *Tototepec* may be the "Tepetotutla" on Bevan's map.

Yxmatlatlan appears as Yxmatlahuacan, three leagues from Puctla (*q.v.*).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

635 197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—Tochtepec was reduced by the armies of Texcoco, as they pushed down the coast." The chief language of the

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PNE, 4: 60.

Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 204: "... a la primera vez que ... vine, proveí, como en la otra relacion hice saber a V.M. que en dos o tres otras provincias ... se hiciesen para V.M. ciertas casas de granjerias ... e á una dellas que se dice Chinanta, envié para ello dos españoles; y esta provincia no es sujeta á los naturales de Culua." The message he wrote goes on to say, "con los de Tuxtepec ... cada dia tenemos ... guerra."

In García Icazbalceta, ed., *Colección de documentos para la historia de México* (1858–1866), II: 592: "Chinanta es provincia por sí, pequeña, en sierras; no obedecia á México, y en esta hay pueblos cada uno sobre sí, de diferentes lenguas: á veces son amigos unos de otros, á veces no."

See Yxmatlatlan, below.

PNE, 5: 236: "Tiene este partido otro pueblo que se dize Puctla questa metida en las lagunas del rrio de Albarado, tres leguas a la parte del poniente." It is also mentioned in *ENE*, 14: 87, and in n. 40 below.

Op. cit., p. 204.

"E las cosas supremas, como hazer justiçia de algun principal e quitar la vida alguno, lo comunicavan con los yndios mexicanos que rresidian en el pueblo de Tuchtepeque, donde Moteçuma tenia una guarnicion de gente muy grande donde rrecojian los tributos de todos los pueblos desta tierra" (*PNE*, 4: 62).

Ixtlilxochitl, *Obras históricas* (1892), II: 197–198: "Conquistadas estas provincias que pertenecían al patrimonio del rey de Tetzcoco, pasó de allí con su ejército costeando

[1] [i.e., Chinantlan – Analyd]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

635

province was Náhuatl, but along the southwest both Chinantec and Mazatec were spoken. 197

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the northwest of Tochtepec Province lay Cuetlaxtlan and its fortress; to the southwest was the doubtful zone of the independent Mazatec. Southward, Coayxtlahuacan and Coyolapan provided another strong link with the Empire, but somewhere along the southeast the province of Tochtepec gave on enemy regions, through which a thin line of fortresses must have led to Xoconochco. 635 131

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The wealth of Tochtepec was phenomenal. Of the several lists of tribute which we have, the *Matricula* shows the following items: 651

CLOTHING

1,600 rich mantles, of the kind the lords and caciques wore** [291]
800 red-and-white striped mantles**
400 women's blouses and skirts**
1 warrior's costume and shield, with a birdlike standard* [714]
1 gold shield*"
1 feather standard like a bird's wing—yellow feathers* [301]
1 gold diadem*
1 gold headband, a hand's width and thick as vellum*
2 strings of gold beads*"
3 large chalchiuites*
4 strings of chalchiuites*
20 lip plugs of light amber mounted in gold*
20 lip plugs of crystal with blue smalt and gold setting*

FOOD

20 loads of cacao [262]

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la mar del Norte hasta otra provincia que se dice Teochtepec [*sic*] que asimismo la ganó y sojuzgó, y puso en ella por su mayordomo y cobrador de tributos (de más de la gente de guarnición que en cada una de ellas dejaba) á Toyectzin, que cobraba en cada un año cuarenta fardos de mantas ricas y viente de unas camisetas asimismo ricamente tejidas de finos colores, que montan ciento y viente piezas: igualmente le sembraban y cultivaban en cada un año una sementera de cacao, que tenía de longitud cuatrocientas medidas y de latitud doscientas, sin más treinta y tres cargas de cacao que se cobraban de tributo, dos mil pelotas de hule y cuatrocientos paños de grana, sin más muchas piezas de plumería, como eran rodelas, penachos y otras divisas que los reyes usaban cuando salían a las guerras, hechas de la plumería rica que llaman quetzali. Esta provincia contenía doce pueblos, asimismo sujetos, y daban de tributo cierta cantidad de amas y criadas para el servicio de palacio."

" Contributed by Ucila. See Tribute of the Component Towns, below.

" Also from Ucila.

OTHER GOODS

651 16,000 rubber balls
[314 100 pots of liquidambar
237] 24,000 little bunches of blue, red, and green feathers
4 tufts of green feathers trimmed with yellow ones
80 handfuls of quetzal feathers

[114] Ixtlilxochitl gives another list for the whole province: what it paid to Acolhuacan when it was first subjugated:[59]

CLOTHING

[291] 40 bundles of rich mantles
20 bundles of rich blouses
. . . shields, panaches, etc., of quetzal plumes

FOOD

[262] 33 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS

[314 2,000 rubber balls
237] 400 measures of cochineal

[357] Personal services were also exacted, he relates.

651 114 The same chronicler says that twelve pueblos were subject in this province. In a little list inserted without explanation in the annals of Quauhtitlan, Tochtepec and eleven other towns of the province are named, along with these items:

[314] 20 + 10 + 1 (31) loads of cacao
400 [measures] of *achiote*
5 *centzontli* [2,000?] rubber balls[60]

The agreement between the Ixtlilxochitl and Quauhtitlan lists suggests that Ixtlilxochitl had the latter at his disposal.

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Even more detailed information may be secured on the tribute of Tochtepec Province.

Chinantlan and its subjects paid gold and cacao.[61]

Tlacotlalpan paid cotton mantles (some bearing painted pictures of the sun and the moon), cacao and parrots, ocelot skins, alligator teeth (probably for use as charms), and chalchiuites.[illegible] 632 651 [23]

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[59] Quoted in n. 36 above.

[60] Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), p. 311. The twelve towns are Quechollan, Tlacoapan, Chiltepec, Poctlan, Oxitlan, Ichcatlan, Tlequauhtla, Coyatepec, Tzinacanoztoc, Xallapan, Otlatitlan, and Tuchtepec.

[61] *PNE*, 4: 60: "este señor ... rreconoçia a Moteçuma, y el y todos sus pueblos le tributaban oro e cacao."

Toztlan also gave mantles painted with suns, as well as other garments. Dimensions are specified.[illegible]

Ucila paid directly to the capital each year a gold shield, an ornament made of quetzal feathers, and two collars of gold beads, for Moctezuma and his wife. These are also depicted on the *Matricula* page. To the governor in Tochtepec they gave gold, cacao, cotton, maize, chile, beans, mantles, grass mats, and all sorts of fruit. A third tribute each year went to their own cacique.[illegible]

30. XOCONOCHCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

In the State of Chiapas, at the approaches of Guatemala, lay the coastal province of Xoconochco. The signs depicting this province are painted on the twenty-third page of the *Matricula*, and the copy appears on folio 47ʳ of the *Codex Mendocino*. Of the eight principal towns of this province, seven have been identified, principally on the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad Guatemala." Old and modern names are compared below: 635 114 [128] 103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP	MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acapetlatlan, 2	Acapetagua	Mapachtepec, 1	Mapastepec
Ayotlan, 7	Ayutla	Maçatlan, 5	Mazatán
Huehuetlan, 4	Huehuetán	Xoconochco, 6	[See Remarks on Towns]
Huiztlan, 3	Huixtla		

One town remains to be located: Coyoacan.

[illegible] "Motezuma lo señoreava: tributavanle ropa de algodon con el sol e la luna y otras pinturas pintadas en ella, y cacao y papagayos y cueros de tigre y dientes de lagartos y piedras que llaman 'chalchivtis' " (*PNE*, 5: 2).

[illegible] *PNE*, 5: 5: "se dieron a Motezuma por amistad ... tributavanle vnas mantas de quatro piernas y de ocho baras en largo y tres palmos de ancho cada pierna, y en estas mantas pintavan en medio un çerco grande y enmedio el sol, y otra ropa blanca menuda."

[illegible] *PNE*, 4: 47–48: "obedeçian por su Señor y Rey a Montesuma al qual tributaban y pagaban cada año por tributo vn presente en que le daban vna rodela que en su lengua llaman chimali dorada con mucho oro, y un quetzale hecho de plumeria muy rico, y un collar de cuentas de oro muy rico para el dicho Montesuma, y otro collar de la mesma suerte y manera para su muger ... cada vn año ... , y que demas desto daban otro tributo a vn Gouernador que el dicho Montesuma tenia puesto en vn pueblo que se dize Tustepeque ... al qual daban cantidad de oro y mucho cacao y algodon, maiz, chile, y frisoles, mantas, petates y de todos los generos de fructos que la tierra daba, demas de lo qual otro tanto tributo a un caçique que estaba por Señor en esta provincia, Señor natural della, de suerte que pagaban tres tributos en cada vn año."

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 712 *Xoconochco* has now become Soconusco San Benito.[illegible] It appears as one of the garrison towns (*Mendocino,* fol. 18ʳ) with two governors, named "2. Quauhtli Tezcacouacatl" and "Atzin Tlilancalqui," according to their glyphs (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The Mayence language Mame and Náhuatl were the native languages of Xoconochco Province.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—The province of Xoconochco was one of the terminals of the Empire, and doubtless warred constantly on the east and west. The links which bound Xoconochco Province to the Empire and to remote Tochtepec are not clearly known, but it seems likely that they consisted in isolated fortresses.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute of Xoconochco Province comprised the following:

CLOTHING[illegible]

[301] 2 lip plugs of light amber, gold setting
2 long strings of chalchiuites

FOOD[illegible]

[262] 200 loads of cacao

OTHER GOODS[illegible]

[237] 1,400 bunches of feathers, blue, red, and green
160 whole skins of birds[illegible]
800 handfuls of yellow parrot feathers
800 handfuls of quetzal feathers
[415] 40 ocelot skins
800 rich tecomates for drinking cacao
[317] 2 brick-sized chunks of clear amber

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Xoconochco gave, in the early colonial period, three annual tributes of goldpieces, each tribute being comprised of eight gold disks worth twenty-five pesos apiece.[illegible]

[illegible] Nuttall, "Chalchihuitl in Ancient Mexico," *American Anthropologist* (1901), 3: 232.

[illegible] Cooper Clark, ed., *Códice Mendocino* (1938), 1: 8v. Identifies it as *Cotinga amabilis* Gould.

[illegible] *PNE*, 1: No. 501: "Dan tres trjbutos cada ano y en cada vno ocho tejuelos de oro de a veynte e çinco pesos cada vno, de nueue quilates: pagando en tostones al Respeto."

THE ROAD TO XOCONOCHCO

The tribute collectors of the Empire reached Xoconochco—which was 487 so far away from the heartland that it paid only twice a year, as the month symbols on the *Matricula* page attest—by the same route that modern land travelers follow, that is, south and east of the Nudo de Cempoaltepetl. Ahuizotl, at the end of the fifteenth century, invaded certain key places, which linked this province thereafter with Tochtepec. The activities of Moctezuma II filled certain gaps without altering our general picture for this area.

The main centers occupied by the Mexicans to assure the route across the Isthmus of Tehuantepec and down the Sierra Madre to Soconusco are indicated on the map between provinces 29 and 30, Tochtepec and Xoconochco. The list, which might be expanded, has been formed from the conquest lists of the Mexican rulers.*

The reason why these towns do not appear in the *Matricula* as comprising a separate tributary province is debatable. They may have been depicted on some page now lost, or the Mexicans may have demanded from the towns only the right of transit.

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* Barlow, "Materiales para una cronología del Imperio de los Mexicanos," *RMEA* (1946), 8: 207–215.

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VII. THE MIXTEC-ZAPOTEC ZONE

101 147 In each of the provinces of the vast zone we are about to consider, the cultural and linguistic groups known as Mixtec and Zapotec have flourished. There is some indication that in an earlier period the Mixtec extended beyond these provinces;[1] in any case, they and the Zapotec together provide a convenient denomination for the area, much of which fronted on still "unreconstructed" Mixtec city-states. Other cultures and languages there were, in bewildering abundance, within the same frontiers—Tlapanec, Mazatec, Cuicatec and so forth,—but the Mixtec and the Zapotec appear to have been the most advanced of all, and certainly were the best known to later times.

31. Tepeacac

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 Tepeacac was a great bastion, which long resisted the imperialism of the Mexica and later, when the Spaniards came, proved to be the key to the eastern plateau. This cabecera, together with twenty-three principal towns, is represented on page 20 of the *Matricula,* copied on folio 42ʳ of the *Codex Mendocino.* The province extended across the center of southern Puebla. Its towns have been located principally on the 125 1908 Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora. Original name forms are compared with those of today in the following list:

103

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Acatzinco, 15	[No change]
Coatzinco, 9	Coatzingo
Chietlan, 5	Chietla
Epatlan, 7	[No change]
Huehuetlã, 4	Huehuetlan
Nacochtlan, 8	Necoxtla
Quatlatlauhcã, 10	Huatlatlauca
Quauhquechulan, 1	Huaquechula
Quauhtinchan, 12	Cuautinchan
Quechulac, 17	Quecholac
Tecalco, 13	Tecali
Tecamachalco	[No change]
Teonochtitlã, 2	

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[1] E.g., east to Cozamaloapan and northwest to the skirts of Popocatepetl. Jiménez Moreno, "El enigma de los olmecas," *Cuadernos Americanos,* T. 5, Nº 5 (1942), pp. 124–125.

MENDOCINO	1908 MAP
Teopantlan, 3	[No change]
Tepeacac, 14	Tepeaca
Tepemaxalco, 18	
Tepexic, 11	Tepexi
Tetenanco, 16	
Ytzucan, 6	Matamoros Izúcar

Four towns elude identification: Atezcahuacā, Chiltecpintlā, Oztotlapechco, and Yçochinanco.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—Náhuatl and Otomí were the principal 197
languages of this province, though Chocho-Popoloca was spoken in Tecamachalco, Quecholac,[2] and Quauhtinchan.[3] Mixtec, in turn, was spoken by groups coming up from the south, some of which arrived in late times, during political upsets in Coayxtlahuacan.[4]

Provincial borders in 1519.—North of Tepeacac Province lay Tlax- 635
cala, with whom it skirmished continually. Its boundaries in the other 131
three directions were less insecure, as it was bordered by the Empire [648]
provinces of Huaxtepec on the west, Cuauhtochco on the east, and Yoaltepec on the south. In the last-named direction the frontiers have been placed south of Yzucar and Tepexic, and north of Acatlan and Piaztla. This choice is rather arbitrary, but in the 1580's Acatlan and Piaztla remembered former wars with the two towns depicted on the *Matricula* page,[5] hence may finally have been integrated into another province in the interests of peace.

Regional names.—Certain towns are listed in the relaciones of the 635
1580's as belonging to the Coatlalpan, a name which likewise appears 175
in this zone on the Ortelius map of 1579. These towns are Epatlan,[6]

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[2] *PNE*, 5: 20: "en lo que toca a las lenguas, la general desta çiudad y pueblos de su probincia hablan la lengua ... mexicana ... eçeto que los pueblos de Tecamachalco y Cachulac comunmente [hablan] otra lengua tosca llamada popolucan eçeto que toda la gente noble hablan poco o mucho la mexicana; ansi mysmo ay ynterpolados algunos naturales que hablan otra lengua que llaman otomy, que esta, fuera de la mexicana, es la mas natural en este reyno por haber muchos pueblos della."

[3] See the opening lines of Preuss and Mengin, *Die mexicanische Bilderhandschrift Historia Tolteca-Chichimeca* (1937).

[4] *Ibid.*, vss. 322–324.

[5] *PNE*, 5: 60, 79.

[6] *PNE*, 1: No. 248.

635 Teonochtitlan,[7] Teopantlan,[8] and Ytzucan.[9] Tezozomoc speaks of
175 Coatlalpan as being situated near the Marquesado.[10]

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Tepeacac and her subject towns paid the following tribute to the Empire:

FOOD

[262] 4 wooden cribs (2 of maize and 2 of beans)*

OTHER GOODS

317 4,000 loads of lime
314 4,000 loads of thick canes
281 8,000 loads of canes for arrow shafts
482 800 deerskins
8,000 loads of *acayetl* "perfomes que usan para la boca"
200 *cacaxtles*[11]

632
651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Ahuatlan (a) paid a tribute of cane.[12]

Coatzinco supplied cane, shields made of the same material, spearheads, bows and arrows, and white lime.[13]

[701] Texalucan (b) claimed to have given military service only—the enemies including the distant Coixca.[14]

Çoyatitlanapa (c) paid a tribute of canes, spearheads, white lime, shields made of cane, and wild cotton for padding armor.[15]

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[7] More exactly, Tepexuxuma, next door to Teonochtitlan. *PNE*, 1: No. 540.

[8] *PNE*, 1: No. 559.

[9] *PNE*, 1: No. 292.

[10] Tezozomoc, *Crónica mexicana* (1878), pp. 533–534: "los pueblos de Coatla[l]pan y ... la tierra caliente, que ahora llaman del Marquesado."

[11] Wooden frames for carrying goods on the back with a tumpline.

[12] *PNE*, 5: 82–83: "Dicen que en tiempo de su ynfidelidad fueron vasallos de Moteccoma y sus pasados, y que le seruian y tributauan rrodelas de canas maçiças que en lengua mexicana llaman otlatl."

[13] *PNE*, 5: 95: "Dicen fueron vasallos de Motecçoma y de los Señores de Mexico, y le seruian con rrodelas de cana maçiça, con canas fuertes, y nauajas para lanças, cal blanca, flecha y arco para pelear."

[14] *PNE*, 5: 86: "Dizen que fueron vasallos de Motecçuma y sus pasados," making war against the "prouinçia de Coyxco y captiuauan gente que lleuavan a Mexico a Motecçuma para que se sacrificasse." For Coixca, see section on Tepequacuilco, p. 17, n. 41.

[15] *PNE*, 5: 90: "En tiempo de su ymfidelidad eran de Motecçuma, señor de Mexico, y sus pasados dauanle de tributo cal blanca, canas maçiças grandes, y nauajas para poner en las lanças, y rrodelas de cana maçiça para pelear, y algodon: algodon siluestre para jacos y cosseletes que vestian los hombres de guerra, que todo lo rreferido lleuauan a Mexico."

32. Yoaltepec

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Yoaltepec occupies the right-hand third of page 18 635 of the *Matricula,* and the lower third of folio 40' of the *Codex Mendocino.* 114 In the original codex only the cabecera is identified by an annotation in the roman alphabet—as is often done—though in the *Mendocino* all the towns are thus identified.

This province, which contained six principal towns, lay on the northwestern border of modern Oaxaca State, and perhaps extended into Guerrero. On the basis of the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," and a considerable [128] number of documentary references, five of these six important towns, as well as a few others, have been located. The following table shows the correspondences between old and modern names:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Ehuacalco, 4	Calihualá
Patlanalā (?), 5	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzilacaapan, 6	Silacayoápam
Yoaltepec (? 3)	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yxicayā (?), 10	[See Remarks on Towns]

One town remains quite elusive: Ychcaatoyac.

We may add to the list given above the following towns, which were minor subjects of the province: Acatlan (2), Ayoxochiquilazala (9), Piaztla (1), Tecomaixtlahuacan (8), and Ycpatepec (?) (7).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Acatlan recognized Moctezuma and his forebears as overlords and 632 claimed to be linked with the Mexican blood royal.[illegible] It has been placed 131 in Yoaltepec Province because it formerly had wars with Ytzucan and Tepexic,[illegible] which were within Tepeacac Province, as we see in the *Matricula.* In the mid-sixteenth century it was bordered by Izucar, Tepexic, Petlaltzinco, and Chila, and this also tends to place it in the Yoaltepec sphere.[illegible]

[illegible] *PNE,* 5: 59: "Acatlan reconocia por supremo Señor en tiempo de su gentilidad a Moctezuma y sus antepasados los Reyes de Mexico."

[illegible] *PNE,* 5: 60.

[illegible] *PNE,* 1: No. 6.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

632 [712] *Ayoxochiquilazala* seems to have been the anchor of the Empire in this region. A local Mexican garrison consumed all the tribute, which never reached Mexico.

Ehuacalco, suggests Troncoso, may be the Calihualá [Cal-eual-lan] of today. The proposed identification seems reasonable.

Patlanalan is a name which apparently survives only in documents. The town was subject to Tonalá (a) and was half a league from "Çilacajoapa."

Piaztla was probably "Old Piaztlan" (Huehuepiaztlan), which lay to the west of the site of the modern town. Among the towns subject to Piaztla in 1581—and probably also linked with it in 1519—were
632
131 Tuzantlan (c) and Ilamatzinco (b). These appear on the Puebla map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora, 1908.

Yxicayan became "Xicayan de Tovar" in colonial days. It confined with Puctla and Tlacomayztlauaca, which are the Putla Santa Maria and Tecomaxtlahuacan of today. Xicayan de Tovar was nine leagues southwest of "Instlauaca" (Juxtlahuaca) and four leagues in the same direction from Ayoxochiquilazala. Northeast of the ancient Acuitlapan, Guerrero, are a C. Jicayan and a R. Jicayan which indicate the site. It should be pointed out that the Jicayán of today (near Tlacamama), also existing in the sixteenth century, is a quite different pueblo.

Ycpatepec, which enjoyed a certain pre-Hispanic fame, may be located by piecing together a variety of references. Though it is described in the relación of Cuauhuitlan along with towns of the modern district of Jamiltepec on the Oaxaca coast, it is stated to be no less than thirty-five leagues to the northeast of those towns, beyond a sierra, in the Mixteca Baja. Elsewhere it is given as ten leagues from Mixtepec

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See Tribute of the Component Towns, below.

PNE, 5: 238.

PNE, 5: 238; *GPM*, p. 20. Its estancias were called [illegible] and Santa Clara.

PNE, 1: No. 810; *GPM*, p. 65; *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 147.

PNE, 1: No. 810.

RMEH, T. 2, Appendix, p. 137.

RMEH, T. 2, Appendix, p. 147.

PNE, 1: No. 808.

PNE, 4: 158.

PNE, 4: 155: "muy apartado [de Cuahuitlan] porque cae en la provincia de la Mixteca Baja." Its encomendero was Francisco de Alfaro.

(subject to Tlaxiaco)" and three leagues from "Cilacayoapan." With 632
all this information, the town may be placed fairly well. In the present 131
map it is identified tentatively with Montañas, a town on the Oaxaca
map of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. This lies south of
Silacayoapam and may have fallen under the jurisdiction of southlying Cuauhuitlan.

Ychcaatoyac, which has not been found, is also called "Atojocinapa" 632
in a list which names its encomendero as "el hijo de Pierres Gómez."

Yoaltepec has been located from references only. When the Mexicans invaded the south, they took, in succession, the towns of Oaxtepec,
Izucar, and Youaltepec." "Ygualtepec" (the name suffered the same
change as Yoallan–Iguala) was held by the encomendero of Ayoxochiquilazala. The clearest reference, however, comes from a document [131]
dealing with Piaztla, which places Yoaltepec ten leagues straight south
of that town.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—With Yoaltepec we enter the Mixtec 97
provinces. A codex in purely Mixtec style, for example, is preserved
from Tecomaixtlahuacan, and the relación of that town tells us it is
of Mixtec speech, as proves to be true of Ycpatepec. The northern
part of the province, on the other hand, seems to have been mexicano
rustico, "because it is the province of Totolan"—a quite mysterious
reference.

RMEH, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 142–143.

GPM, p. 20; *PNE*, 5: 238.

Ycpatepec was celebratedly mountainous.

Three hints which may lead to its exact identification at a later time are: (*a*) the linking of "Hycpatepeque" with Tlacotepec, Tepexillo, and Los Remedios in a list of "Curatos Mixtecos" of the reign of Philip V (Bancroft Library, University of California, Mex. MS No. 8, fol. 221); (*b*) the Mixtec name, "yucu yua" ("Relación of Cuahuitlan," *PNE*, 4: 158) or "yucu nunyuh" (Reyes, *Arte en lengua mixteca* [1889], p. 90); and, finally (*c*), the names of the estancias of Ycpatepec (*PNE*, 5: 238), which are Santa María, Santiago, and San Juan. (*PNE*, 4: 155, adds San Pablo.)

ENE, 9: 17.

Discussed in the writer's forthcoming chronological study.

I.e., García de Aguilar. See *GPM*, p. 157.

PNE, 5: 77: "al sur tiene el pueblo de Ygualtepec questa desta cabeçera diez leguas, toda tierra entre doblada y llana y caminos derechos." In the same document Acatlan is placed at five leagues from Piaztla.

Published in Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tzapotec and Mije Indians*, Univ. Calif. Publ. Geog., Vol. 4 (1930), Appendix I.

RMEH, T. 2, Appendix, p. 136.

PNE, 4: 158.

PNE, 5: 78.

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—North of Yoaltepec Province lay the Empire province of Tepeacac, and to the east that of Tlachquiauco, but to the south were other Mixtec peoples never subjugated by the Triple Alliance: Tototepec of Oaxaca and her allies. Ayoxochiquilazala was an outpost against these. To the west Tlapan and Quiauhteopan were Empire territory again.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The tribute rendered by Yoaltepec was small but choice; it included gold and turquoises. It is listed as follows:

CLOTHING

[291 400 large mantles**
714] 1 warrior's costume with shield*

FOOD

[263] 40 jars of honey**

OTHER TRIBUTE

[316 40 little gold disks, "the size of a Host" and as thick as one's finger*[illegible]
533] 10 middle-sized turquoise masks (mosaic)*[illegible]

632 651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Acatlan gave military supplies and food to the Imperial armies which passed through it and from time to time sent gifts of mantles and rabbitskins to its overlord in Mexico, as well as providing personal services. Certain gifts were received in return.[illegible]

[712] Ayoxochiquilazala, though a garrison town giving military service, also paid tribute of gold dust.[illegible]

[illegible] Cooper Clark, in his edition of the *Códice Mendocino* (1:75), remarks that "it is reasonable to suppose that these gold disks . . . measured about three inches in diameter."

[illegible] The *Mendócino* commentary considers the turquoise symbol appearing with the masks to represent a separate tribute of turquoises, but this conclusion does not seem justified.

[illegible] As in Ocelotepec, in the province of Coyolapan, *q.v.*, *PNE*, 5: 59, says that Acatlan "solamente ... dava ... a la jente de guerra que por el pasaba" food and arms from an arsenal there, and " ... enbiavan de quando en quando vn presente al Rey de Mexico, de mantas y pellejos de liebres y de conejos." In the same source are mentioned the services rendered by various lords and their wives in the Imperial court, in eighty-day shifts.

[illegible] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, pp. 147–148: "acudian con el tributo á monteçuma y le davan oro en polvo y no le acudian con otra cosa porque en este dicho pueblo tenia monteçuma jente de guarniçion aperçibida para las guerras y esta gente mexicana comian y gastavan las gallinas venados conejos y maiz que eran obligados á dar á monteçuma."

632

Piaztla gave salt and wax annually, and aided the Imperial troops 651
passing through the town by supplying them with war clubs, shields, 263
arrows, and food.[*] 765
237

Tecomaixtlahuacan was under the rein lightly. It had its own lord and none other, we are told in the sixteenth-century relación, but it chose none the less to send Moctezuma gifts now and again, and tribute is the criterion of the present map.[*]

Ycpatepec acquired certain articles by trade with peoples thirty leagues away and then delivered them to the Mexican tax collectors in Teutla (or Tentla). These articles were green feathers, gold, and chalchiuites.[*]

Yxicayan gave a combination of dwarf peppers and mantles "and nothing else."[*]

33. TLAPAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Tlapan contained fourteen towns, according to the 635
glyphs of the *Matricula* (p. 17) and the *Mendocino* (fol. 39ʳ). In the 114
Matricula only "Tlauhpā" is identified in a later hand; in the *Mendo-* 131
cino, all towns are. Tlapan Province lay in the eastern extreme of modern Guerrero. Of its fourteen towns, seven have been located on the modern map. The following correspondence between ancient and modern place names has been established, the "Millionth Map" of the 128
American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México," having served as base.

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[*] *PNE*, 5: 78: Piaztla was "... sujeto al Real Imperio de Mexico y ... en su sujecion llebavan cada año cantidad de sal y sera, de que daban a los Exercitos de Mexico espadas de pedernal, rodelas y flechas y comida quando pasaban por su pueblo a la conquista de lexos [*sic*] provincias, y no le davan en señal de sujecion otro tributo alguno."

[*] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 137: "algunas vezes contribuyan con algunos presentes de piedras etc. desque llaman chalchihuites á montecuma." The codex of this town (published by Schmieder) claims that the people of the town "nunca ... tributaron ni contribuyeron en cosa alguna para los dichos tributos de Mexico, y de todos eran libres y exentos" (Schmieder, *The Settlements of the Tzapotec and Mije Indians* [1930], p. 79).

[*] *PNE*, 4: 161: "solian ser en tiempo de su gentilidad sujetos a Monteçuma ... le davan de tributo cada tantos meses plumas verdes y oro en polvo y algunas piedras verdes de poco momento: estas cosas iban a rescatar a otras partes fuera deste dicho pueblo, mas de treynta leguas, lo qual entregaban a los capitanes de Monteçuma que tenia puestos para el dicho efeto en Teutla" (or Tentla).

[*] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 152: "acudian con el tributo á montecuma al cual acudian con mantas y agi y no con otra cosa."

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Acuitlapã, 7	[See Remarks on Towns]
Chipetlan, 1	Chiepetlán
Malinaltepec, 6	[No change]
Tetenanco, 3	Tenango Tepexi
Tlapã, 4	Tlapa
Totomixtlahuacã, 5	Totomixtlahuaca
Ychcateopã, 2	Ixcateopan

The remaining seven towns of the *Matricula* cannot be located with any certainty, though there are some additional data available regarding them. These towns are:

Acocozpã
Ahuacatla
Amaxac
Huitzannola
Ocoapan
Xocotla
Yualan

On the other hand, we may confidently add and locate the following subject towns, thanks to another source: Ayutla (8), Cintla (?) (10), Copalitech (11), and Tototepec (9).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 131 *Acuitlapan* is the Quitlapa of today, located southeast of Metlatonoc in the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento. It is described in colonial days as "Cuytlapa," twelve leagues from Tlapan."[illegible]

Ahuacatla, not located, was five leagues from Tlapan, according to a report which gives it as "Ahuacatitlan."[illegible]

Amaxac probably corresponds to "Atlemaxac" or "Atlimaxax," which was a cabecera one league from Tlapan.[illegible]

Ayutla was clearly tributary,[illegible] and with it a series of seaboard towns including Cintla and Copalitech.[illegible]

Cintla seems to have lain close to the modern Juchitán(a).[illegible] It was one of the seaboard towns subject to Ayutla (*q.v.*).

[illegible] *GPM*, p. 106; *PNE*, 1: No. 217.

[illegible] *GPM*, p. 101.

[illegible] *GPM*, p. 101; *PNE*, 1: No. 82.

[illegible] *PNE*, 4: 260: "aquel pueblo de Ayutla antiguamente era de Moteçuma, [con] todos los demas pueblos de la jurisdiçion que fueron sugetos."

[illegible] *PNE*, 4: 259: "antes que se ganase la tierra, eran todos los pueblos maritimos sujetos al dicho pueblo de Ayutla."

[illegible] Identification by the writer, in "A Western Extension of Zapotec: Further Remarks," *Tlalocan* (1944), 1: 361.

Copalitech, called "Copalitas" in the sixteenth century, was considered a seaboard town and thus anciently subject to Ayutla (*q.v.*).[illegible] 632

Huitzannola is called "Huitzaxola" elsewhere and is said to be an estancia of [A]cuitlapan.[illegible]

Tototepec, one of many towns of this name, is not on available maps, 632
but may be located by references. Xochitonala,[illegible] which must be the 712
Tonalá of today, was "de Ayutla tres leguas y otras tres de Tututepeque."[illegible] The same source notes: "La estancia de Tututepeque esta tres leguas de la mar." The inhabitants of Tototepec are said to be
"mexicanos que quedaron alli por guarniçion que solia tener Monte- [101]
çuma." The town must have been the principal anchor of the Empire in this remote coast.

Xocotla, apparently, was a town three leagues from Tlapan[illegible] and 632
should not be confused with the distant Yope-speaking town of the 131
same name on the Río Papagayo.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The people of Tlapan Province bore two 101
principal names, though they may have been one group ethnologically 197
and linguistically. Those of the north were called Tlapaneca and those of the south Yope. Sahagún identifies the two, remarking that "these Yopime and Tlapaneca are the people of the region of Yopitzinco; they are called Yope because their district is called Yopitzinco and they are also called Tlapaneca, which means Ochre Men, because they painted themselves red . . ."[illegible] It should be pointed out, however, that although the people of Tlapan and Malinaltepec and the northern towns are said to speak Tlapanec, those of Tototepec and Xochitonala and the south are called Yope-speakers,[illegible] as if Yope were another tongue. Whether or not the Yope are to be identified with the Tla-

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[illegible] *PNE*, 4: 257: "Declaro ser maritimo el pueblo de Copalitas por estar dos leguas de la mar, y tener vn rrio cavdaloso y una alaguna [*sic*] de pesqueria." This river has been identified with the Río Copala by the writer, "A Western Extension of Zapotec: Further Remarks," *Tlalocan* (1944), 1: 360.

[illegible] *GPM*, p. 106.

[illegible] *PNE*, 1: No. 499.

[illegible] *PNE*, 1: No. 28.

[illegible] *GPM*, p. 98.

[illegible] *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* (1938), III: 133. *Tlapalli* means "red" in Náhuatl.

[illegible] *GPM*, p. 27.

101 panec, a good part of the Yope remained independent of the Mexicans
197 until the arrival of the Spaniards and gave the Spaniards themselves much trouble.

These Tlapanec and/or Yope seem to be linked with distant groups to the south and north. The nearest kin of the Tlapanec language is that found in Nicaragua,[illegible] but certain customs of the Yope are identical with those of the Apache.[illegible]

212 The recent discovery by Ortega of several codices from the Tlapanec zone provides us with a potential source of information on this formerly almost unknown region.[illegible] Though the codices are still un-
[705] exploited, they have already shown that the Tlapanec used a pre-Mexican[illegible] calendar system. There is less novelty in the observation that
[776]
346 the god Xipe Totec came to the highland via the Yope. His temple, which stood where the western towers of the Cathedral of Mexico now stand, was called Yopico.

635
131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—To the northwest of Tlapan lay the province of Tialcoçauhtitlan, to the north that of Quiauhteopan, and to the northeast Yoaltepec—the borderlands of the Mixteca. Tlapan Province extended down to the Pacific Coast to the fortress of Toto-
[712] tepec (not to be confused with the Mixtec kingdom of Tototepec in adjacent Oaxaca). On both sides of this bastion war was continually being waged. The greater portion of the Yope roamed unconquered in Yopitzinco to the west; and to the east was a doubtful region of independent Mixtec peoples, with the other Tototepec of Oaxaca looming as a background power.

TRIBUTE

651
212 *Tribute of the whole province.*—Ortega's startling discovery of the balance of the "Codex Humboldt I"[illegible] and its identification by Toscano

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[illegible] On the Tlapanec language, see Radin, "The Tlapanec Language of Guerrero," *International Journal of American Linguistics* (1933), 8: 45–72, and Schultze Jena, *Indiana III* (1938).

[illegible] The only Yope ethnography surviving is in a document published by Federico Gómez de Orozco ("Costumbres, fiestas, enterramientos y diversas formas de proceder de los Indios de Nueva España," *Tlalocan* [1945], 2: 60–61).

[illegible] See Toscano, "Los codices tlapanecas de Azoyú," *Cuadernos Americanos*, T. 10, N° 4 (1943), pp. 127–136.

[illegible] That is, with the signs immediately anterior to the familiar Calli-Tochtli series as year-bearers.

[illegible] Published by Seler, Bulletin 28, Bureau of American Ethnology.

as the "Nómina de Tributos de Tlapa y su senorio al Imperio Mexi- 651
cano" give us unparalleled material for a future study in detail of the 212
tribute of this province. We now have the bookkeeping from both sides, that of the conquerors and that of the conquered. Until the codices are fully published, however, we can only remark the abundant tribute of gold, confirmed by the *Matricula* and reconfirmed by the excavations of Atliztac, which may have been included in the province."[illegible]

The *Matricula* and *Mendocino* specify: 651

CLOTHING

400 bundles of mantles and women's blouses** [291
402 bundles[illegible] of little red-striped mantles** 714]
800 bundles of large mantles**
2 warriors' costumes with shields*

OTHER TRIBUTE

10 strips of gold "de quatro de dos en ancho y de largo tres quartos de vara," and the thickness of parchment [316
20 bowls of gold dust, each bowl of 2 *almoçadas* capacity 45]
800 bowls called tecomates, "the good kind they drink cocoa from"

Tribute of the component towns.—We have testimony regarding 632
the tribute of one town, Ayutla, in both the pre-Hispanic and the 651
early colonial periods. On certain other towns, only information about the latter period is available.

Ayutla and near-by towns joined in giving Moctezuma the following [415
every six moons: a bar of heavy gold, three fingers thick; gourds; deer 291
and tiger skins; fish and cotton.[illegible] In the mid-sixteenth century it gave 248
40 measures of gold dust and various items of clothing quarterly, as 212]
well as a turkey daily and the services of three Indians in a cacao grove."[illegible]

[illegible] Noguera, "Importancia arqueológica del descubrimiento de objetos en Texmelincan, Guerrero," *Boletín del Museo Nacional* (1933), Epoca II, 2: 42–44.

[illegible] Corrected from the figure of the *Mendocino* commentary, 400.

[illegible] *PNE*, 4: 260: "era de Moteuçuma ... le davan vna vara de oro maçiço de gordor de tres dedos, y 'tecomates' que son como calabaças, y cueros de venado y pescado y algodon y cueros de tiguere, y que todos los dichos pueblos ... le davan este tributo antiguamente cada seys lunas."

[illegible] *PNE*, 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias quarenta pesos de oro en polvo y dos mantas de dos braças cada vna, damascadas, y dos cotines grandes y ocho mantillas y quatro camisas y quatro naguas y cada dia vna gallina de la tierra y mas tres yndios de servicio en vna huerta de cacao y todos juntos quando es menester la benefician."

651 Tlapan in the mid-sixteenth century gave 62 pesos, 3 tomines of
632 gold quarterly, 3 loads of honey, 5 pots, and 3 loads of wax in pellets.[77]

[316 263 253] Tototepec, likewise about a generation after the Conquest, gave 50 measures of gold dust and certain articles of clothing quarterly, and
[144 146] daily gave the services of seven Indians, and a chicken to the Calpixque.[78] A

34. Tlachquiauco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635
114 The province of Tlachquiauco was not large. It contained three principal towns, according to folio 45ʳ of the *Mendocino Codex,* the folio copied from the recto side of a lost leaf (page "22A") which followed Coyolapan and preceded Xoconochco in the original manuscript. Of the three towns of Tlachquiauco Province, one has not
[28] been located, but the other two (lying in northwestern Oaxaca) have been identified as follows on the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical Society, sheet "Ciudad de México":

[103]

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Achiotlan, 4	S. Miguel Achiutla
Tlachquiauco, 3	Tlaxiaco

The town which has eluded identification is Çapotlan.

Mixtepec (2) and Tlacotepec (1) are added from other sources.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Mixtepec* was subject to Tlachquiauco in the days when the latter still held out against the Mexica, and presumably fell with it.[79]

Tlacotepec appears in some of the younger Moctezuma's conquests jointly with Ycpatepec (in the province of Yoaltepec).

Tlachquiauco is a name which has suffered considerable corruption, but there is no novelty in the identification of the town.

Çapotlan appears vaguely linked with Etla and Macuilxochic in one source.[80]

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[77] *PNE,* 1: No. 725: "dan cada ochenta dias sesenta y dos pesos y tres tomines de oro en poluo y tres cargas de miel y çinco xarros y tres cargas de çera en pellas." The statement also includes similar data from near-by towns.

[78] *PNE,* 1: No. 28: "dan cada ochenta dias çinquenta pesos de oro en poluo y çinco naguas y ocho mantillas, y cinco mantas grandes; mas dan siete yndias de seruicio cada dia y una gallina al Calpixque."

[79] *PNE,* 4: 142: "el caçique de tlaxiaco que era a quien estos de mistepeque reconocian por señor tenia guerra con montecuma."

[80] *ENE,* 16: 68.

A [i.e. A civil functionary in whose care the public stores
were entrusted. – Analyst]

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—This province seems to have been formed 635
out of a vanquished Mixtec city-state, at a very late period indeed in 648
the Empire's history. It is listed as one of three principal pre-Hispanic powers of the region in the "Relación de Teoçapotlan,"[illegible] though we know that it lost its independence in 1511 or 1512.[illegible]

Provincial borders in 1519.—To the south lay sister Mixtec states 635
such as Puctla and Zacatepec, which defied the Mexicans successfully, 131
to the east and north the Empire province of Coayxtlahuacan, and to the west that of Yoaltepec. 635

Regional names.—Tlachquiauco lay in what is commonly called the Mistecapan.

TRIBUTE

The only data available on the tribute of Tlachquiauco Province 651
comes from the *Codex Mendocino:*

CLOTHING

400 large mantles** [241
1 warrior's costume and shield* 714]

OTHER GOODS*

20 vessels of gold dust [316
5 sacks of cochineal
400 bunches of quetzal feathers 237]

35. COAYXTLAHUACAN

SOURCES OF THE MAP

The province of Coayxtlahuacan appears on page 21 of the *Matricula* 635
and is copied on folio 43ʳ of the *Codex Mendocino*. It contained eleven [131]
principal towns,[illegible] all of which have been found. They lay in northern 114
Oaxaca. In the *Matricula* the towns of "Cohuaxtlauacã," "Tamaçolapan," and "Tepozcololan" are identified in the roman alphabet; and

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[illegible] *PNE*, 4: 193: "dizen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solos auian los de Tututepec que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco que tambien eran guerreros por si, y Monteçuma que era el Señor de México."

[illegible] Anderson and Barlow, "The Maize Tribute of Moctezuma's Empire," *Annals of the Missouri Botanical Garden* (1943), 30: 414–415.

[illegible] Cortés (*Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153) speaks of twelve towns in the province of "Coastoaca."

635 in the same codex the right-hand margin is so badly worn that the
114 glyphs of Tamaçolan and Mitla are no longer visible. These are
preserved in the *Mendocino* copy, however. The present map is based
[128] chiefly upon the "Millionth Map" of the American Geographical
Society, sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former
and modern names are given below:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Coaxomulco, 11	Cuasimulco
Coayxtlahuacã, 6	Coixtlahuaca
Cuicatlan, 7	Cuicatlán
Mictlan, 18	Mitlatongo
Nochiztlan, 15	Nochixtlán
Tamaçolan, 19	Tamazola
Tamaçulapã, 4	Tamazulápam
Tepuzcululã, 13	Teposcólula
Texopan, 5	Tejúpam
Xaltepec, 17	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yancuitlan, 14	[See Remarks on Towns]
Çoçolan, 16	[See Remarks on Towns]

We may expand this list with the following towns, known from other sources to have been subject:

Atlatlaucca, 12
Chila, 2
Icxitlan, 3
Malinaltepec, 10
Papaloticpac, 8
Petlaltzinco, 1
Tepeucila, 9

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 *Atlatlaucca* was visited by tax collectors from Coayxtlahuacan.[illegible] It may be found in the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

[712] *Coayxtlahuacan* was a celebrated Mixtec stronghold, the downfall of which was one of the great events of the fifteenth century. The Mexicans made it a garrison and center for tribute collection.[illegible]

Chila (2) admitted being subject to the Empire; the town denied

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[illegible] *PNE*, 4: 165: "estos dos pueblos de Atlatlaucca y Malinaltepeque reconoçian por Rey a Munteçuma ... dos yndios ... que se llamavan 'calpisques' ... hacian rrecoxer [el tributo] y lo lleuauan a la prouinçia de Cuestlauaca, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesta su frontera de gente de guerra."

[illegible] *PNE*, 4: 165, for example, speaks of "Cuestlauaca, donde el dicho Munteçuma tenia puesto su frontera de gente de guerra." See also Papaloticpac, below. When the invading army of Cortés reached Izucar de Matamoros, Coayxtlahuacan threw off the Mexican yoke and surrendered to the Spaniards. (Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* [1866], pp. 152–153).

paying tribute, but "the lords of Chila, when it pleased them to," exchanged presents with Moctezuma." 632

Icxitlan was a subject town which gave no tribute beyond feeding the highland troops that passed through it.

Malinaltepec (10) sent its tribute to Coayxtlahuacan." This Malinaltepec, which is stated to lie eight leagues northeast of Atlatlaucca and [131] five leagues west of "los Yolos" [Yoloxonecuilan], appears on Bevan's map. It should not be confused with the nearest of several homonyms, that is, with the Malinaltepec southwest of Atlatlaucca.

Mictlan, as Jiménez Moreno has pointed out, must be the present Mitlatongo.

Papaloticpac paid tribute to its cacique, and he to Moctezuma; probably the Papalotiquipaque of the sixteenth century is one of two towns called Papalo today, southeast of Quiotepec.

Petlaltzinco, like Icxitlan, paid its tribute by supplying the armies of the Empire with food and men.

Tepeucila had been subjected by Moctezuma shortly before the Spaniards arrived.

Xaltepec appears on the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

Yancuitlan may be found on the 1912 map of the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Çoçolan was conquered by the younger Moctezuma, as will be detailed in the second part of this work. It is mentioned as a garrison [712] town on folio 17ʳ of the *Mendocino*, with two governors—a "tlacatectli" and a "tlacochtectli" (cf. chap. viii, no. 37).

PNE, 5: 66: "era subjeto al ymperio de la ciudad de México ... embialle [a Moctezuma] los senores de Chila, quando les agradaua, algunos presentes de joyas de oro y mantas," etc.

PNE, 5: 75.

See Atlatlaucca, above.

Bevan, *The Chinantec* (1938).

Códice de Yanhuitlán (1940).

PNE, 4: 90: "tributaban los naturales a su Señor natural y este a Montecçuma ... que llevavan a las guarniciones donde Montercuma tenia gente de guerra."

PNE, 4: 88.

"El dicho pueblo de Petlaltzingo era subjecto al Ymperio mexicano, y no dauan ningun tributo mas de que eran obligados a dar a los exercitos de Mexico que por el dicho pueblo de Petlaltzingo passauan bastimentos, y asi mismo servian con alguna gente de guerra, y no otra cosa alguna" (*PNE*, 5: 70).

PNE, 4: 95: "Al tiempo que vinieron los españoles era Señor natural de este pueblo vn cazique que se dezia canchuchu camiñas, y en tiempo de este los sujeto Montecçuma."

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was Mixtec in speech, except for Cuicatec (extending eastward from Cuicatlan), Chinantec (north and east of Atlatlaucca), and, curiously enough, Chocho-Popoloça in the very heart of the province (Tamaçulapan to Coayxtlahuacan).

101 175 In Coayxtlahuacan Province centered the rich and complicated Mixtec culture, concerning which some detailed information has been preserved for us in such codices as the Nuttall and the Vindobonensis. Most extensive data on the pre-Hispanic history and ethnography of this region can be recovered from these manuscripts when they are fully studied. Many of the towns of this province were originally important city-states, with their own dynastic histories.

171 805 Among the notable cultural differences separating the peoples of this province from the Náhua, are such variant calendar systems as the Mixtec, studied by Jiménez Moreno,[*] and the Cuicatec, in the still inadequately investigated "Codex Fernández Leal."

635 131 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—At the height of the Empire of Moctezuma, Coayxtlahuacan had certain half-intimidated (though not actually subjected) zones to the north, the sprawling Empire province with its Oaxaca garrison to the east, the still resisting Mixtec city-states[**] to the south, and Tlaxiaco and other Mixtec towns, recently overrun, to the west.

TRIBUTE

651 *Tribute of the whole province.*—The province of Coayxtlahuacan was exploited for the following items:

CLOTHING

[291] 400 bundles of quilted mantles, richly decorated[**]
400 bundles of mantles, striped red and white[**]
400 bundles of black-and-white mantles[**]
400 bundles of loincloths[**]
[714] 400 bundles of women's blouses and skirts[**]
2 warriors' costumes together with shields[*]

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[*] *Códice de Yanhuitlán.*

[**] Such as Puctla, Zacatepec, and others the relaciones of which appear in *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix.

OTHER GOODS[illegible] 651

2 strings of chalchiuites [316
800 bunches of quetzal feathers
1 royal emblem called *tlalpiloni* 231]
40 sacks of cochineal
20 bowls of gold dust

Tribute of the component towns.—A few details exist concerning 632 the way in which the payment of this rich tribute was apportioned. 651

Atlatlaucca and a fellow town paid cochineal, cotton mantles, green and varicolored feathers, and chalchiuites, all of which they purchased from other towns by means of little cotton mantles which [436] served as money. They also gave military aid.[illegible]

Cuicatlan gave feathers, gold, and "piedras" to the tribute collectors, who relayed these items to higher officials. The collectors themselves were given (mordida ?) mantles and food, and sometimes fruit was sent to the Mexican garrisons in the Mixteca.[illegible]

Chila's presents of gold jewels and mantles have been mentioned.[illegible]

Icxitlan claimed to have given no tribute other than gifts presented on visits to the capital. These presents were rich feathers and precious stones and live snakes to feed the birds of the Royal Aviary.[illegible]

Malinaltepec shared in giving the items listed under Atlatlaucca, above.

Papaloticpac gave gold dust and food for the Mexican garrisons.[illegible]

[illegible] *PNE*, 4: 165. The fellow town was Malinaltepec: "le dauan en cada pueblo de çierta cantidad de grana cochinilla, mantas de algodon y plumeria verde y de todas colores, y unas piedras verdes ... y estos generos de cosas las iban a buscar a otros pueblos los yndios, y las rescatauan a trueque de unas mantillas de algodon del tamaño de vn pliego de papel, que corria entre ellos por moneda ... y quando los capitanes de Munteçuma les mandavan que enbiasen gente de guerra para ir a otras conquistas, lo hacian."

[illegible] *PNE*, 4: 185: "Y para quel dicho su Señor tributase a Montecçuma, de quien era su sujeto, buscaban los naturales plumas, oro, piedras, y a los cobradores que venian a cobrar este tributo por Montecçuma, les davan mantas, comida y otros presentes, sin lo que pagavan al gran Señor que bera Montecçuma, y algunas vezes enbiavan frutas a los questaban en las guarniçiones de Montecçuma en la provinçia de la Misteca."

[illegible] See Chila, above.

[illegible] *PNE*, 5: 75: "... era sujeto al real ynperio de mexico, no le daban tributo ninguno mas de quando yvan a verle a mexico le llevaban en presente plumas ricas y piedras preciadas y culebras bibas para dar a comer a las aves de bolateria y munchos jeneros de aves preciadas que tenia." The Royal Aviary stood where the later Convento de San Francisco was built.

[illegible] "En tiempo de su ynfidelidad y antes que los españoles los sujetasen obedecian a Montecçuma ... . Lo que tributaban los naturales a su Señor natural y este a Montecçuma era oro en polvo, bastimentos que llevavan a las guarniçiones donde Montecçuma tenia gente de guerra" (*PNE*, 4: 90).

632 651 Petlaltzinco was obliged to feed Empire troops when they passed through the town.[illegible]

Tepeucila contributed mantles and tiger skins bought from their neighbors, and a few feathers.[illegible]

Texopan gathered these items for the tribute: parrot feathers, slaves, and small amounts of cochineal.[illegible]

Çoçolan was a gold-producing region which caught the eye of Cortés very quickly—doubtless because of the display of tributes in the capital.[illegible]

36. Coyolapan

SOURCES OF THE MAP

635 114 Coyolapan was a huge province, the heart of the State of Oaxaca. The principal native towns numbered eleven, nine of which have been located. They are depicted on page 22 of the *Matricula* and in the *Mendocino* copy on folio 44ʳ. The cabecera and one other town are identified in roman letters in the *Matricula*. The modern map which [128] has served to reconstruct the province is the American Geographical Society's "Millionth Map," sheet "Ciudad de México." Correspondences between former and modern names follow:

103

MENDOCINO	MILLIONTH MAP
Camotlan, 3	Camotlán
Coyolapan, 21	Cuilapam
Etlan, 9	Etla
Guaxacac, 19	Oaxaca de Juárez
Macuilxochic, 22	Macuilzóchitl
Octlan, 29	Ocotlán
Quauxilotitlan, 10	[See Remarks on Towns]
Teticpac, 26	Teítipac (San Sebastian)
Tlalcuechahuayã, 24	[See Remarks on Towns]

Two towns represented on the *Matricula* page remain to be located: Quatzontepec and Teocuitlatlan.

[illegible] *PNE*, 6: 70: " ... era subjecto al Ymperio mexicano, y no dauan ningun tributo mas de que eran obligados a dar a los exercitos de Mexico que por el dicho pueblo de Petlaltzinco pasauan bastimentos."

[illegible] *PNE*, 4: 95: " ... los sujeto Montecuma y le sirvieron tributandole mantas y cueros de tigres que compravan de los pueblos comarcanos y algunas plumas."

[illegible] *PNE*, 4: 55: " ... estaban subgetos a su rrey Moteçuma ... daban de tributo a su rrey Moteçuma esclavos, plumas de papagayos y grana en poca cantidad."

[illegible] Cortés, *Cartas y relaciones* (1866), p. 152: "envié á buscar oro á la provincia de [illegible]."

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

Besides the towns identified, many lesser subject towns, discovered through sources other than the *Matricula* and the *Mendocino* copy, should also be listed: 103

Atepec, 2
Coatlan, 33
Cuixtlan, 32
Chichicapan, 30
Eztetlan (?), 13
Huiztepec, 15
Itzquintepec, 12
Iztepexi, 8
Miahuatlan, 31
Mictlan, 28
Ocelotepec
Quauxiloticpac, 14
Tecuicuilco, 5
Teotitlan del Valle, 23
Teotzacualco, 11
Teozapotlan, 25
Tlacolula, 27
Tlaliztacan, 20
Totomachapa, 16
Xaltianguisco, 4
Xilotepec, 17
Yolozonecuilan, 1
Zenzontepec, 18
Çoquiapan, 7

REMARKS ON TOWNS

Atepec and three neighbors "recognized Moctezuma as lord."[illegible] 632

Coatlan, in some unspecified period, rebelled against its chief and sent ambassadors to Mexico to arrange its incorporation into the Empire.[illegible] Today the town seems to have broken up into a cluster of satellites, of which a rough center has been taken for the map.

Coyolapan, now Cuilapa, ought really to be called "Quacuyolapan"—if we are to trust the relación of that town.[illegible]

Chichicapan first belonged to Teozapotlan, but was fighting off attacks from Mixteç neighbors at the moment of the Spanish Conquest, [648] at which time its inhabitants settled matters by allying themselves with Moctezuma.[illegible]

Cuixtlan (32) warred with Tetiquipa to the south, and this may [648] possibly indicate the limits between the province of Coyolapan and the free Mixtec state of Tototepec.[illegible]

[illegible] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 123. Tecuicuilco, Atepec, Çoquiapa, Xaltiango: "Todos estos quatro Pueblos Reconocian por Rey a montecçuma el qual los Abia conquistado Por fuerças de armas."

[illegible] *PNE*, 4: 123: "Este dicho pueblo y sus naturales en su antiguedad eran sujetos a vn caçique que se llamaba Coacuzi ... hasta que les hizo çierto agrabio y se rebelaron contra el, y ... embiaron parias a la çiudad de Mexico a Monteçuma ... el qual los reçibyo debaxo de su amparo."

[illegible] "Relación de Cuilapa," *Tlalocan* (1945), 2: 22.

[illegible] *PNE*, 4: 115.

[illegible] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 115.

632 *Eztetlan* was near the modern Tepantepec.[illegible]

712 *Guaxacac* (as Huaxac[ac]) is one of the garrison towns mentioned on folio 17ᵛ of the *Mendocino* (cf. chap. viii, no. 37) as being governed by a "tlacatectli" and a "tlacochtectli." The fortress was actually located on the Cerro del Fortin (Acatepec or Ecatepec), according to the "Relación de Cuilapa" (*Tlalocan* [1945], 2:20).

Huiztepec and certain neighboring towns together paid tribute to Moctezuma.

Itzquintepec was a town the identification of which involves the whole question of the "pueblos peñoles." Probably we may identify it with the modern town of Peñoles.

Iztepexi recalled in the 1580's that "certain Mexica" had overcome them, whereupon they paid double tribute, as the Mixtec also exploited them.[illegible]

Macuilxochic remembered only being subject to Teozapotlan,[illegible] but figures along with the rest of the Empire in the *Matricula.*

Mictlan (28), since it was subject to Teozapotlan, was subject to the Mexica.[illegible]

Ocelotepec was a town the inhabitants of which "anciently had Moctezuma, lord of Mexico, as their lord."[illegible]

Quauxiloticpac, now Huajoloticpac, is derived from "quauxilotl"

[illegible] A collective relación which includes this and the two following pueblos exists (*RMEH,* T. 2, Appendix, pp. 185–191). Six pueblos in all are listed, in this order: Itzquintepec, Eztetla, Quauxoloticpac [*sic*], Huictepec [*sic*], Totomachapa, and Jilotepec, "los quales estan como aqui van puestos uno en pos de otro y corren norte sur." Now three of these appear on any map: No. 3, Quaxoloticpac (11 leagues from Antequera or Oaxaca City), is Huajolotipac; No. 4, Huiztepec (12 leagues from Antequera), is Huitepec; and No. 6, Jilotepec (17 leagues from Antequera and defined as "çerro al modo de una mazorca de maiz"), is Elotepec. In view of these three fixed points, Itzquintepec (6 leagues from Antequera and 9 leagues from Teotzacualco) is most likely the modern Peñoles. Eztetla (lying between Itzquintepec and Quauxoloticpac and 7 leagues from Teotzacualco) should fall somewhere near modern Tepantepec. And, finally, Totomachapa (like Jilotepec, 10 leagues from Zola) is perhaps the modern Yucucando. (Totomachapa was 8 leagues from Teotzacualco, and Jilotepec only 6.) All these six pueblos peñoles "Jueron ... en tiempo de su jentilidad de monteçuma señor de mexico al qual tributaban oro y mantas de algodon."

[illegible] *PNE,* 4:16: "ciertos mexicanos los subjetaron por mandado del Señor de Mexico ... empeçaron a tributarles asi a los mexicanos, questauan en Guaxaca por Monteçuma, y a los mixtecos por el señorio que sobrellos tenian, temiendose de los unos y de los otros ... ."

[illegible] *PNE,* 4:102: "El gobierno que tenian hera lo que les mandava el señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan ... ." See Teozapotlan, below.

[illegible] *PNE,* 4:111. See Teozapotlan, below.

[illegible] *PNE,* 4:138: "en su antigüedad tenyan por senor a Monteçuma, señor de Mexico ... ."

in the relación of the "pueblos peñoles," hence we have restored the 632
proper spelling.

Quauxilotitlan appears in the sixteenth-century sources as "Guaxilotitlan," two leagues from Etlan, the name being derived from "quauxilotl." It should not be confused with Quauxiloticpac, mentioned above. The inhabitants of Quauxilotitlan "were subject to Mocteçuma for many years before the Spaniards came."[110]

Teotitlan del Valle was subject first to the Zapotec lords (at Teoza- [648]
potlan, and then to the government in exile at Tehuantepec) and afterwards to the imperialistic Mixtec of Coyolapan.[111] And Coyolapan appears in the *Matricula*.

Teotzacualco was a Mixtec city-state which had made an "arrangement" with Moctezuma a few years before the Spanish invasion.[112]

Teozapotlan, or "Zaachila," as it is better known, was the traditional 632
seat of Zapotec power. Since various pueblos of the Valley of Oaxaca, 648
in their sixteenth-century relaciones, are said to be subject to Teoza- 175
potlan, no mention being made of Moctezuma, it is important to point out that Teozapotlan fell before the Mixtec of Coyolapan late in aboriginal history (the Zapotec caciques then retiring to Tehuantepec). Coyolapan in turn was subjugated by the Triple Alliance.[113] Consequently, any town said to be subject to Teozapotlan may be considered to be subject to the Mexica.[114] The relación of Teozapotlan speaks only of a near-by Mexican garrison close to Oaxaca City which had been put there "by means of good friendship and without war." Teozapotlan is stated to have been quite independent (a reminiscence of earlier and better times?) and to have paid tribute to this Mexican [651]
garrison "only in order to be friendly."[115] Tribute is tribute.

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[110] *PNE*, 4: 197: "los naturales del estaban subjetos muchos años avia, antes que los españoles biniesen, a Moteçuma."

[111] *PNE*, 4: 105.

[112] *RMEH*, T. 1, Appendix, p. 175: "En tiempo de su gentilidad reconocian á su señor natural que abian traydo del pueblo de tilantongo ... que pocos tiempos antes que los españoles binyesen los sujeto montesuma por conciertos que entre ellos vbo."

[113] "Relación de Cuilapa," *Tlalocan* (1945), 2: 19–20.

[114] The truth of this assumption is confirmed by the relación of Macuilxochic (*PNE*, 4: 102: "... les mandava el señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan") and by the glyph of that town in the *Matricula*; also, by the relación of Teticpac (*PNE*, 4: 111: "en tiempo de su infidelidad tenian por señor al cacique de Teoçapotlan y despues tuvieron a Monteçuma Señor de Mexico") and see also the *Matricula*.

[115] *PNE*, 4: 193: "dizen los yndios que poco antes que los españoles viniesen solo iruian los de Teozapotlan que estos eran guerreros por si, y los de Tlachiaco que tambien eran

632 *Tecuicuilco* owned Moctezuma as lord after being conquered by force of arms.[116]

Teticpac was subject to Teozapotlan, and later to Moctezuma.[117]

Tlalcuechahuayan may be found on the Oaxaca map of the atlas of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento.

Tlacolula, by virtue of having been subject to Teozapotlan, was subject to Moctezuma.[118]

Tlalixtacan is another subject of Teozapotlan, and therefore, it is to be inferred, of the Mexicans also.[119]

Totomachapa may be found on the 1912 map of Oaxaca made by the Comisión Geográfico-Exploradora.

Xaltianguisco, the Jaltianguis Santa Maria of today, is cited under its old name in a document of Ixtepexi,[120] as well as in several other places.

Xilotepec was one of the "pueblos peñoles," all of which were subject to the Empire.[121]

Yoloxonecuilan was a town the name of which has atrophied to "los Yolos." In its earlier form the name of this place appears in the conquest lists of the Empire, jointly with the names of such towns as Xaltianguisco and Itztitlan (6) (Ixtlán de Juárez?). Yoloxonecuilan had, moreover, the same cura as Atepec.[122]

Zenzontepec appears late in the conquest lists of the Empire.

Çoquiapan and certain neighboring towns are said to have "recognized Moctezuma as lord."[123]

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[651] guerroros por si, y Monteçuma que era el Señor de Mexico: de todos estos tres solo auia aqui quando vinieron los españoles vna guarniçion juncto adonde es aora la ciudad de Antequera, la qual guarniçion era de Monteçuma: esta dizen los yndios que avia puesto alli por via de buena amistad y sin guerra, para pasar por alli adelante a Tecoantepec y Guatimala ... y dizen que a estos mexicanos no les dauan ningun tributo, sino por via de amistad, sino que el rrey de Teoçapotlan se tenia su señorio absolutamente."

[116] See Atepec, above.

[117] *PNE*, 4: 111. See Teozapotlan, above.

[118] *PNE*, 4: 145: "en tiempo de su ynfidelidad, tuuieron por señor al señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan el qual hera señor de toda esta tierra." See, however, Teozapotlan, above.

[119] *PNE*, 4: 179: "en tiempo de su gentilidad, tenia por señor al caçique e señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan." See Teozapotlan, above.

[120] *PNE*, 4: 20: "Santianquisco, questa dos leguas deste dicho pueblo hazia el norte." A relación of the town appears in *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 123.

[121] See Itzquintepec, above.

[122] *GPM*, pp. 92–93.

[123] See Atepec, above.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—At the time of the Spanish Conquest the 197 predominant language of the province of Coyolapan was Zapotec, though the Zapoteca had lost their political power. Two other groups also inhabited the province.[illegible] If we draw a line from north to south through Malinaltepec, Etla, Huaxolotitlan, Oaxaca, and Teozapotlan, then west to Totomachapa and Xilotepec, we delineate the western limits of Zapotec. The region beyond this line is Mixtec. In the northern panhandle, the fringe of the area in which Chinantec was spoken was a little south of Coaxomulco (1).[illegible]

The advanced and dissimilar cultures of the Zapotec and Mixtec, 174 especially in the frontier zone of Oaxaca City, have become known in recent years through the investigations of Dr. Alfonso Caso.[illegible]

Provincial borders in 1519.—The province of Coyolapan was one 635 of the far corners of the Empire. To the west and south it faced un- 131 friendly Mixtec city-states, chiefly the huge realm dominated by Tototepec de Oaxaca. Eastward lay the Mixe and the "unprotected" Zapoteca. Both of these were uneasy frontiers. In the west and north, [712] however, lay the strong Empire garrison of Coayxtlahuacan, in the province of the same name.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—Coyolapan and its subject towns paid 651 the following tribute to the Triple Alliance:

CLOTHING**

400 bundles of richly worked mantles [291]
800 bundles of large mantles

FOOD*

4 wooden cribs (2 of maize, 1 of beans, and 1 of chian) [262]

OTHER GOODS*

20 gold disks, the size of an average plate and as thick as one's forefinger [316]
237
20 bags of cochineal

[illegible] Chatino, the tongue of the Zenzontepec region, may be classified with Zapotec.

[illegible] García Granados, "Contribución para la geografía etnográfica y lingüística de Oaxaca," *Boletín de la Sociedad Mexicana de Geografía y Estadística* (1934).

[illegible] In addition to various monographs, Dr. Caso has also written a good summary in his *Las culturas mixteca y zapoteca* (1939).

651 *Tribute of the component towns.*—Certain elements of the fore-
632 going tribute may be traced.

Atepec, Çoquiapan, Tecuicuilco, and Xaltianguisco acquired the
[437] tribute items exacted from them—green (quetzal?) feathers and chalchiuites—by barter with other regions.[illegible]

Coatlan gave gold and mantles, receiving military protection in return. (The gold tribute was three marks of gold dust quarterly in early colonial days.[illegible])

Eztetlan and five other towns jointly paid a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.[illegible]

Huiztepec, as one of the "pueblos peñoles," gave gold and cotton mantles.

Itzquintepec gave part of a joint tribute of gold and cotton mantles.

Iztepexi, which had two masters, Mixtec and Mexican,[illegible] paid them tribute in base gold, green feathers, deer, maize, and turkeys; also, its inhabitants rendered personal services to the Mexican garrison near Oaxaca. The gold and feathers were acquired in a unique fashion, being earned by going to the Isthmus and working six months or a year there cultivating lands.[illegible]

Ocelotepec gave gold dust and mantles and cochineal, "all in small quantities and once a year," and received in return mantles, sandals, and feathers of many colors.[illegible] This exceptional treatment was doubt-

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[illegible] *RMEH*, T. 2, Appendix, p. 123, speaks of "çierto tributo que le pagaban en cada pueblo de çierta cantidad de Plumas verdes y Piedras verdes" obtained in trade.

[illegible] *PNE*, 4: 133. To Moctezuma "le tributaban oro en polbo y mantas, y el tenya quidado denbialles sienpre gente de guarnyçion." To their colonial encomendero "segun dizen los antiguos naturales cada yndio tributaba en cada ochenta dyas tres marcos de oro en polbo."

[illegible] For the tribute of this and the two following towns, see n. 105 above.

[illegible] See n. 106 above.

[illegible] *PNE*, 4: 16. Suffering from double demands, "les pagauan de tributo oro baxo y plumeria verde y benados que tomauan en los montes y mayz y gallinas de la tierra, y leña, acudiendo con servicios personales a los mexicanos en Guaxaca ... ," all without fixed tribute dates, "y la plumeria y oro que asi tributauan lo yban a buscar a Teguantepeque y a la provincia de Soconusco e Guatemala, arquilandose en cargo mercadurias de mercaderes y en beneficiar y cultivar tierras en la dicha provincia donde se detenian seys y siete meses y vn año, y otros se ocupauan en lo que por los señores y caçiques deste pueblo les hera mandado, y por lo suodicho les pagauan oro y plumas verdes, y esto trayan y guardauan para pagar se tributo, y por tener a dos señores a quien acudir con los dichos tributos muchas vezes quedauan confusos, y no osauan rebelarse contra ellos porque no los destruyesen a todos."

[illegible] *PNE*, 4: 138. Ocelotepec "en su antigüedad tenyan por señor a monteçuma, señor de Mexico, al qual tributaban oro en polbo y mantas de que ellos se bisten, y grana, todo en poca cantidad, y en cada vn años [*sic*] vna vez, lo qual el reçebia ... y el les cabiaba otras cosas de mas balor como eran mantas y los 'cactles' que ellos traen, y plumas de muchas colores."

less due to the strategic position of Ocelotepec on the Tototepec frontier. 651 632

Quauxiloticpac and five other towns gave a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.

Quauxilotitlan paid white cotton mantles and women's blouses, loincloths, little copper hoops, green birds called "xiuhtototl," and maize.

Teotitlan del Valle rendered tribute of gold dust, cotton mantles, fowl, bundles of aji, and slaves. [561]

Teotzacualco paid chalchiuites and feathers and mantles of cotton and henequen, and also made special milpas of maize, beans, chia, and cotton—all of which went to the local Mexican garrison. [712]

Teticpac gave fowl, hares, rabbits, deer, and honey.

Tlacolula gave military service only.

Tlaliztacan paid in feathers, mantles, and military service.

Totomachapa joined the other "pueblos peñoles" in a tribute of gold and cotton mantles.

Xilotepéc, like the other "pueblos peñoles," gave gold and cotton mantles.

See Itzquintepec, above.

PNE, 4: 197: "estaban subjetos ... a Moteçcuma, y el señorio que sobre ellos tenya hera que le tributauan mantas de algodon blancas 'y 'guaypiles' que son a manera de camysas, ques vna bestidura que las mugeres traen, y vnos pañetes que en la lengua mexicana se dizen maxtle, y vnas coronas de cobre a manera de guirnaldas, y vnos pájaros verdes que en la dicha lengua se dicen xihuytototl, y maiz."

PNE, 4: 106: "e a todos estos señores que tuvieron les dauan de tributo oro en polvo, mantas de algodon e gallinas, fardos de agi, yndios por esclavos."

RMEH, T. 1, Appendix, p. 175: "al cual dicho montesuma trybutaban piedras que entre ellos ay que se dizen chalchigüites y plumeria y mantas de algodon y nequen y que le hazian sementeras de mayz frixoles y chian y algodón todo lo cual se gastaba entre los soldados que en este dicho pueblo tenian de guarnycion."

PNE, 4: 111: "el tributo que les davan heran gallinas, liebres, conejos, venados, miel."

PNE, 4: 145: "al Señor del pueblo de Teoçapotlan ... no les tributavan con cosa alguna sino con seruirle quando llamaua a la guerra." Presumably these services were kept up under the Mexica.

PNE, 4: 179: "tributauan plumas, mantas, e le servian en yr a la guerra."

See n. 105 above.

See n. 105 above.

VIII. THE HEART OF THE EMPIRE

37. Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco

SOURCES OF THE MAP

175 On pages 1 and 2 of the *Matricula* and on folios 17^{v} and 18^{r} of the *Codex Mendocino* appear the glyphs of the towns of a tributary province, together with a group of glyphs of a different nature. To segregate the information useful for this study, a minute examination of these pages is unavoidable.

The body of the *Matricula* follows a certain scheme: around the outer edges of the page a band of place glyphs ordinarily appears and, within this three-sided frame, figure paintings of the objects paid as tribute by the towns listed. The first leaf, however, departs from this scheme on both its recto and verso sides, and forms the object of the present remarks.

These pages of towns and tributes (pp. 3–28 of the *Matricula* as it exists today), together with two leaves which were separated from the manuscript more than a century ago (the oft-mentioned American Philosophical Society leaves) are copied, more or less faithfully, as "la segunda parte de esta ystoria" in that tripartite compilation, the *Codex Mendocino*, which is divided into: (1) "History of Conquests," (2) "Tribute," and (3) "Ethnography."

In the body of the *Matricula* and its copy ("la segunda parte de esta ystoria") the tributary condition of a wide area is told in detail, but no mention is made of the very environs of the capital, Tenochtitlan.

Preceding the beginning of section 2 ("Tribute") of the *Codex Mendocino* there appears a double page (fols. 17^{v} and 18^{r}) which is partly equivalent to the first leaf of the battered *Matricula*. The copy is infinitely more legible than the original, and must be drawn on to understand the latter. Rather exceptionally, in this copy (*Mendocino*, fols. 17^{v}–18^{r}) the materials of the original (*Matricula*, pp. 1–2) are rearranged, and, since it is the more complete, we cannot be entirely sure of the order of the original glyphs, though we may be certain that their content was copied faithfully.

The content of these pages (which indicates that the first part of the *Mendocino* is a copy of a lost group of pages of the *Matricula*) is twofold: we have a list of certain garrison towns with their governors— 175 the framework of the Empire—and we have a list of those towns near Tenochtitlan of which no mention is made in the long series of tribute pages. (Even here, however, only the towns are listed, and not their tribute.)

Frontier garrison towns mentioned with Çitlaltepec.—Page 2 of the 175 *Matricula* is divided in two by a horizontal line, and the upper half is 712 subdivided by a vertical line, three divisions resulting. In the upper left appears a glyph of a box filled with water. The *Mendocino* identifies it as Atzacan (unlocated). Beside it is a nopal, which is identified in both manuscripts as Xoconochco (Soconusco). Below are two towns which lay close together in the northern extreme of Puebla (see chap. iv, pp. 61–62): Atlan and Teçapotitlan (also identified in both manuscripts).

Glyphs representing the four garrison towns appear on folio 18ʳ of the *Mendocino,* accompanied by the comment that these towns and certain others had special governors "porque no se rrebelasen." To this group the *Mendocino* adds a town glyph from the preceding page of the *Matricula:* Oztoma, the great Guerrero fortress on the Tarascan frontier.

Page 1 of the *Matricula* is badly effaced, but we can recognize the remnants of four town glyphs: Oztoma, in the lower left-hand corner (copied out of place in the *Mendocino,* as noted above); and three others (*Mendocino* copy, fol. 17ᵛ), Poctepec (lower right, unlocated) and, identifiable with the two remaining tepetl-glyphs of the *Mendocino* (fol. 17ᵛ), Huaxac[ac] (Guaxacac) and Çoçolan in the upper part of the drawing.

This is all the *Matricula* tells us. Probably a whole sheaf of pages is lost from the beginning of this remarkable manuscript: a section referring chiefly to the conquests of the Tenochca and their allies, which we know only through the *Mendocino* (sec. 1). In the present case, however, we need not lament the lack of further information, for we have it—though certainly rearranged—in the copy (e.g., Oztoma).

Three other glyphs of key towns in various parts of the Empire appear in the *Codex Mendocino,* folio 17ᵛ, in the upper center, upper right corner, and right margin center respectively: Quauhtochco

175 (Huatusco, Veracruz), Quecholtenanco (south of Chilapa), and 712 Yzteyocan in the province of Quauhtochco. With these three glyphs, preserved only in the *Mendocino* and lost from the *Matricula*, our information about the garrison towns ends.[1]

175 632 651 *Tributary towns in the Çitlaltepec zone.*—Eleven other town glyphs which must have been included in a section now lost from the *Matricula* are given in the *Mendocino* on folio 17ᵛ, ranging down the edge of the page and across the bottom in approved form. The towns fit neatly into our map, as they lie north and south of Tenochtitlan. We shall have to assume that they are the missing tributaries. They are treated as such in this section, even though we know nothing of their tribute.

103 Of the eleven towns of the tributary province, nine can be located; and these nine towns, listed below, form a series which is to be seen [[25]] on the 1 : 100,000 map, "Valle de México," of the Secretaría de Agricultura y Fomento (1937):

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Acalhuacan	[See Remarks on Towns]
Acolnahuac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Coatitlan	[No change]
Chalco Atenco, 6	Chalco
Puputlan, 4	Popotlan
Tzonpanco, 2	Zumpango
Xaltocan, 3	[See Remarks on Towns]
Yztacalco, 5	Iztacalco
Çitlaltepec, 1	Citlaltepec

Other towns seem to have vanished: Coatlayauhcan and Huixachtitlan.

635 *Tlatelolco.*—A certain gap occurs in the very center of this queerly shaped province, between northerly Xaltocan and southerly Yztacalco,

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[1] Bernal Díaz (*Historia verdadera de la conquista de la Nueva España* [1904], I: 302) speaks of three of the four major garrisons of the *Matricula*, Xoconochco, Oztoma, and Atlan or Toçapotitlan: "... pareçe ser que como el gran montezuma tenia muchas guarniciones, y capitanias de gente de guerra, En todas las provinçias, que siempre estavan junto a la rraya dellos, porque vna tenia En lo de soconusco por guarda de lo de guatimala y chiapa, y otra tenia En lo de guaçaqualco y otra capitania En lo de mechuacan, y otra a la rraya de panuco, Entre tuçapan [? Tuchpa], y vn pueblo que le pusimos por nombre almeria [Nautla] ques En la costa del norte ... ." He substitutes Coatzaqualco (of which he was encomendero) for Atzacan, omitting Huaxacac [Guaxacac] and Çoçolan in Oaxaca, and Quecholtenanco in *Guerrero*—as well as the towns for which no governors are mentioned, Poctepec, Yzteyocan, and Quauhtochco.

but this space may be filled very precisely with the administratively 635
separate center of Tlatelolco and its dependencies. The position given to Tlatelolco in the *Matricula* (the American Philosophical Society fragment) and in the *Mendocino* (fol. 19' constitutes a problem with which the writer has dealt elsewhere.[7]

A glance at the map will explain why the Çitlaltepec group and Tlatelolco have been treated together here, although administratively they formed separate tributary provinces.

REMARKS ON TOWNS

The Lake of Texcoco formed the common geographic denominator 131
of these towns.

Acalhuacan, with its miniscule population of forty houses, was the 632
subject of a dispute between the encomendero of Quauhtitlan (BX, 2) and the natives of Tlatelolco in the year 1537,[8] and the record of this dispute is sufficiently enlightening to enable one to find the approximate location of Acalhuacan. Since it was disputed along with Atzompan, it has been placed, like that town, to the north of the Sierra de Guadalupe, but on the western (Quauhtitlan) side of the lake—all quite provisionally. The name, "Place of Canoe-Owners," indicates the lacustrine site.

Acolnahuac (located after the printing of the map) was a point on the Azteca-Mexica migration route—now San Bernabé, on the Calzada de Camarones, between Azcapotzalco and the Nonoalco highway.[9]

Coatlayauhcan is mentioned by at least one source, "Anales de Cuauhtitlan," as one of the stopping places of the migrating Azteca-Mexica.

Huixachtitlan probably lay a little south of Xaloztoc. Studies made after the printing of the map indicate that it lay on the migration route of the *Códice Huitzilopochtli*, between Tequepayuca (now Cerro de

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[7] Barlow, "Tlatelolco como tributario de la Triple Alianza," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1945), 4: 204–207.

[8] "Carta de los indios principales," in S. Montoto, ed., *Colección de documentos inéditos para la historia de Hispano-América* (1927), I: 84. It is also mentioned in Lehmann, *Die Geschichte der Königreiche von Colhuacan und Mexico* (1938), par. 472.

[9] Barlow, "Los caciques coloniales de Tlatelolco," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1944), 3: 552–553.

632 Santa Isabel, west of the Villa de Guadalupe) and "Coatepetl" [? Santa Clara Coatitlan]. Tezozomoc (*Crónica mexicana* [1878], p. 283) places it between Chiquiuhtepec (Cerro del Chiquihuite) and Coatitlan. Huixachtitlan should not be confused with Huixachtepetl, now Cerro de la Estrella, in the south of the Valley.

Puputlan was an insular settlement situated on the highway which ran from Tenochtitlan to Tlacopan. It still exists, though not as a separate town; it has now been incorporated into the City of Mexico. Popotlan is noted chiefly for the ancient *ahuehuete* called "El árbol de la Noche Triste."

Xaltocan, curiously omitted from the 1937 "Valle de México" map, may be found on the map of the State of Mexico, in the 1941 *Libros y revistas* atlas.

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

197 *Inhabitants and languages.*—In the days of the Empire, Xaltocan was an Otomí center,[*] whereas Tlatelolco was Náhuatl-speaking. The southern tip of the province (Chalco-Atenco) extended into another Náhuatl-speaking zone—that of the Chalca tribe.

635 *Provincial borders in 1519.*—This northern lake region faced the 131 remnants of the Chichimec Empire on the east (the province of Acolhuacan). To the north and west lay those of the later Tepanec Empire, centering in the provinces of Quauhtitlan and Quahuacan. Southwest lay the mainland province of Petlacalco, between the mountains and the lakes, down to the pass which leads into Morelos State today, around Amecameca.

TRIBUTE OF TLATELOLCO

651 Owing to the fragmentary condition of our evidence (a group of disordered glyphs in the *Mendocino* copy without a *Matricula* original by which to check), it is not possible to say anything regarding the tribute of the Çitlaltepec zone—unless, by chance, it may have been included in the reckoning for Tlatelolco, given below.

For Tlatelolco the evidence is confusing; nevertheless, the writer ventures to present an outline of Tlatelolco's tribute, defended elsewhere.[*]

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[*] Carrasco's thesis on the Otomí (in press) details its history.

[*] Barlow, "Tlatelolco como tributario de la Triple Alianza," *Memorias de la Academia Mexicana de la Historia* (1945), 4: 208–213.

651

CLOTHING

80 Huaxtec warriors' costumes, together with shields* [291
800 bundles of wide mantles (quarterly) 714]

FOOD (quarterly)

40 baskets of cacao ground with maize [262]
40 baskets of chian pinolli

OTHER TRIBUTE

Perpetual repair of the *teocalli* of Huitznahuac[7] [358]

38. PETLACALCO

SOURCES OF THE MAP

On the verso side of the American Philosophical Society leaf (2A) of 635
the *Matricula* and on folio 20ʳ and 20ᵛ of the *Codex Mendocino* the 114
tributary province of Petlacalco is represented. Just as Çitlaltepec 131
and Tlatelolco included the northern lakes, so this province included
the Lake of Chalco and its southern shore—the Pedregal. The tribute-gathering center lay in the zone of once powerful Azcapotzalco. On [128]
the 1:100,000 map "Valle de México" of the Secretaría de Agricultura 103
y Fomento (1937) we find a number of the towns of this province:

MENDOCINO	1937 MAP
Auchpanco	Ayapango
Cocotlan, 15	[No change]
Colhuacacinco	[See Remarks on Towns]
Cuitlahuac, 11	Tlahuac
Huiçilopochco, 9	Churubusco
Mizquic, 14	[No change]
Olac, 12	[See Remarks on Towns]
Petlacalcatl, 8	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tecalco	[No change]
Tecoloapan, 7	
Tepopulan, 16	[No change]
Tezcacoac	[See Remarks on Towns]
Tzapotitlan, 10	Zapotitlan
Xico, 13	[No change]

The list of missing towns, however, is extensive:

Acapan
Nextitlan
Tepechpan
Tequemecan
Tlaçoxiuhco
Toyac
Xaxalpan
Yopico

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[7] San Juan Huitznahuac, jurisdiction of Azcapotzalco, D.F. (?).

REMARKS ON TOWNS

632 An extensive zone to the south of Lake Chalco is rendered uninhabitable by the lava flow, or "Pedregal," emitted by the Ajusco Mountains, which form the valley rim. If any small settlements existed in this area, their tribute was probably reckoned as a part of that collected from some major town in the region of Xochimilco or Tepoztlan. [133 311]

Auchpanco is identified by Acosta with Ayapango.

Colhuacacinco,[8] later San Cristobal, lay on the shore of Lake Xaltocan, east of Tzonpanco (2).

Olac is a barrio of Xochimilco.[9]

632 114 *Petlacalcatl* is the inscription under the glyph of a house made of grass mats, in the *Mendocino*. It occupies the usual place of the cabecera in the manuscript, and like all the other towns was originally followed by the word "pu[ebl]o." A later hand has struck this out and has replaced it with the word "gobernador," perhaps under the influence of the double (and doubtful) annotation about "Acolhuacā" and "Acolmecatl calpixqui" (tribute collector) which heads Acolhuacan Province.

That something is wrong is evident from the form of the original annotation. It is probably a place glyph, but the annotation takes the form of a personal glyph. I have chosen to read it as Petlacal*co*. The result is the same, for the Petlacalcatl, on the facing *Mendocino* page, was a head tribute collector, and the Petlacalco[10] was the "audiencia" building in the Tenochtitlan palace, which also housed a majordomo in charge of the granaries.[11]

632 *Texcacoac*[12] is a barrio of Tepotzotlan, and consequently we should judge that it lay north of Tecoloapan (7).

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[8] Located after the printing of the map, "dista del pueblo de Tiçayuca vna legua hazia el sueste" (*PNE*, 3: 44 and n. 2).

[9] Olaguíbel, *Onomatología del estado de México* (1894), p. 96.

[10] Sahagún, *Historia general de las cosas de Nueva España* [1938], I: 166.

[11] *Ibid.*, II: 311.

[12] Located after the printing of the map; it is mentioned in the Ayer "Fragment of a Village Book," and, as Texcacoa, in García Cubas' *Diccionario*.

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

NATURE OF THE PROVINCE

Inhabitants and languages.—The northern part of this province was 101 the heart of the Tepanec zone. The Tepanec tribe is assumed—with 197 little proof—to have been Náhuatl-speaking. To the south were two other conquered tribes of better-known affiliation, the Chalca and Xochimilca, mutually related.

Provincial borders in 1519.—South of Petlacalco lay the sterile lava 635 flows which separated it from the province of Chalco (Chalco-Tlal- 131 manalco, not Chalco-Atenco), a province curving down through the mountain passes to Tepoztlan. To the west was the province of Quahuacan, and to the north Quauhtitlan, both at one time Tepanec strongholds. Eastward lay the lake provinces of Çitlaltepec and Tlatelolco.

Regional names.—At least the zone around Petlacalco itself be- 635 longed to the former Tepanecapan—the Tepanec area subject (until 1428) to Azcapotzalco.

TRIBUTE

Tribute of the whole province.—The following materials were col- 651 lected by the tribute gatherers to Petlacalco:

CLOTHING*

65 warriors' costumes with shields [291
2,400 loads of mantles of "twisted" cloth 714]
800 loads of colored mantles
400 loads of loincloths
400 loads of women's clothing

FOOD*

1 bin of beans [262]
1 bin of chian
2 bins of huauhtli

[p. 134 is blank]

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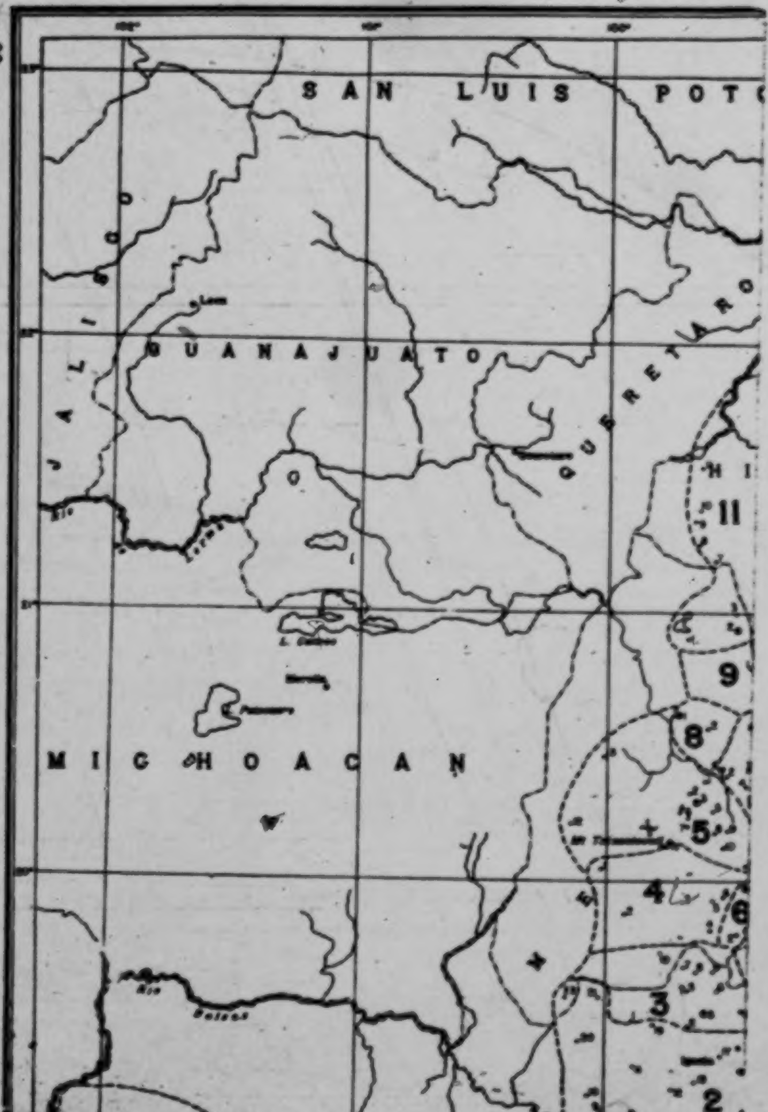
8: Barlow E-4 (no date) 1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

MAP

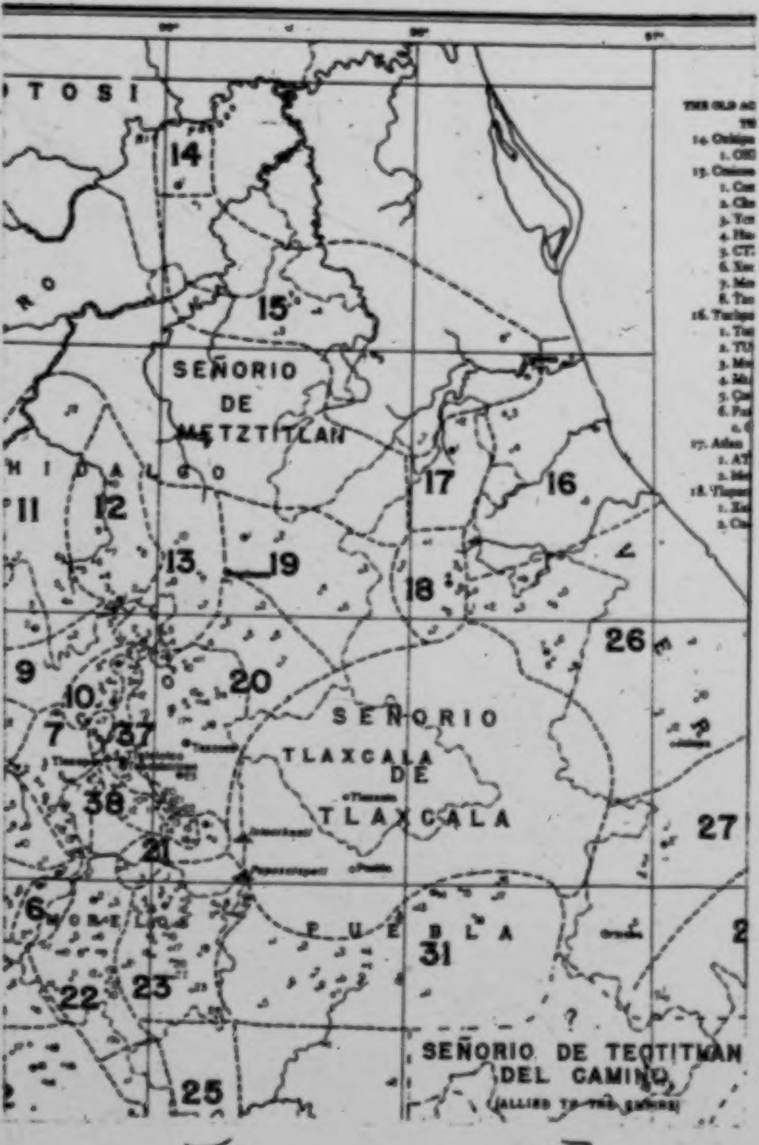
THE EMPIRE OF THE CULHUA MEXICA

[p. 143]
[p. 144 is blank]

131
103


SAN LUIS POTO
JALISCO
GUANAJUATO
QUERETARO
MICHOACAN
HI
11
9
8
5
4
6
3
1
2
Rio Lerma
L. Cuitzeo
L. Patzcuaro
Rio Balsas

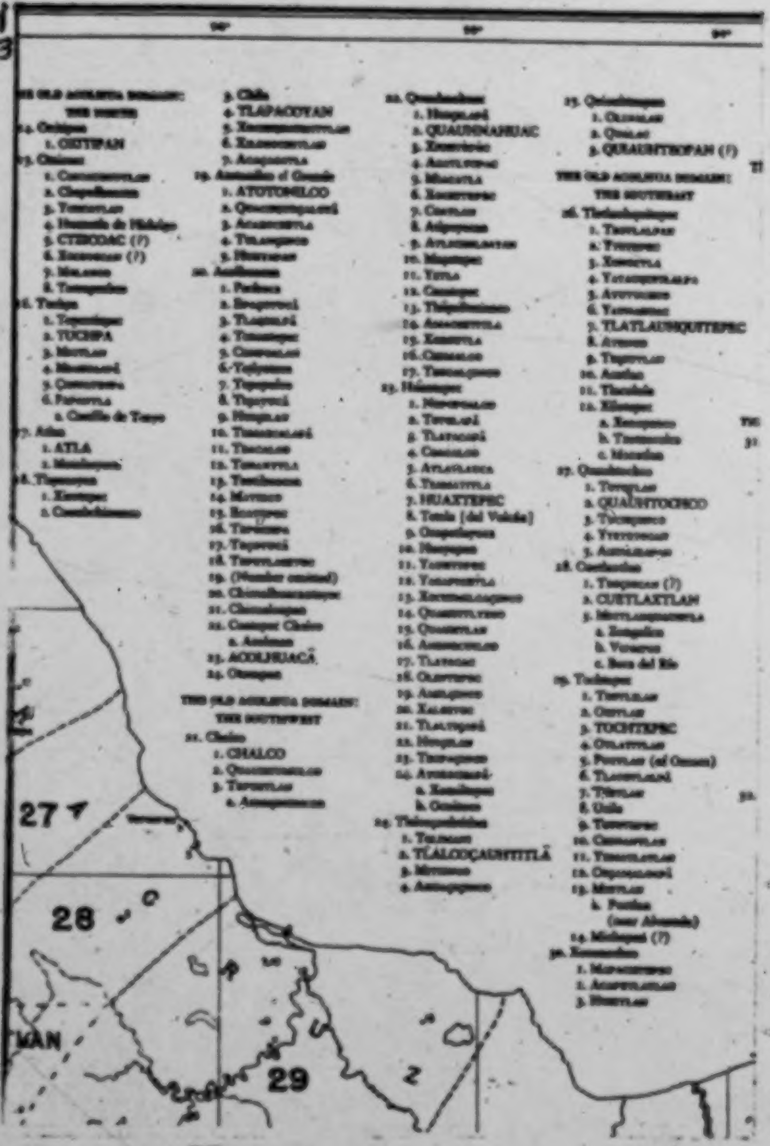
[facing p. 144 (A)]


TOSI
RO
14
15
SEÑORIO DE METZTITLAN
HIDALGO
11
12
13
19
17
16
18
26
9
10
20
7
37
38
SEÑORIO TLAXCALA DE TLAXCALA
21
27
6
MORELOS
PUEBLA
31
22
23
25
SEÑORIO DE TEOTITLAN DEL CAMINO
(ALLIED TO THE AZTECS)
?

[facing p. 144 (B)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

131
103



OXITIPAN
TLAPACOYAN
ATOTONILCO
TUCHPA
ATLA
ACOLHUACĀ
CHALCO
QUAUHNAHUAC
HUAXTEPEC
TLALCOÇAUHTITLĀ
QUAUHTEOPAN (?)
TLATLAUHQUITEPEC
QUAUHTOCHCO
CUETLAXTLAN
TOCHTEPEC
27
28
29

[facing p. 144 (c)]

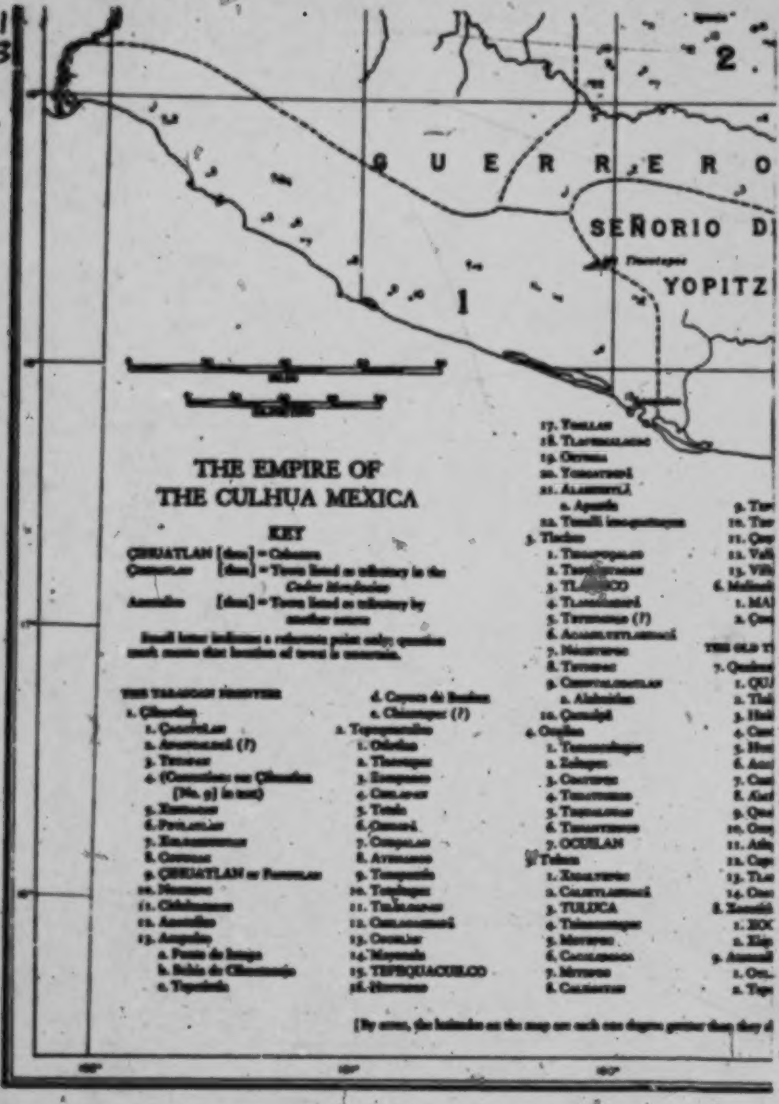
131
103

TLAPA
TLACHQUIAUCO
COYOLAPAN
Teotitlan del Valle
THE HEART OF THE EMPIRE
CITLALTEPEC
PETLACALCATL
TEPEACAC
TOALTEPEC (?)
A
B
C
D

[facing p. 144 (D)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

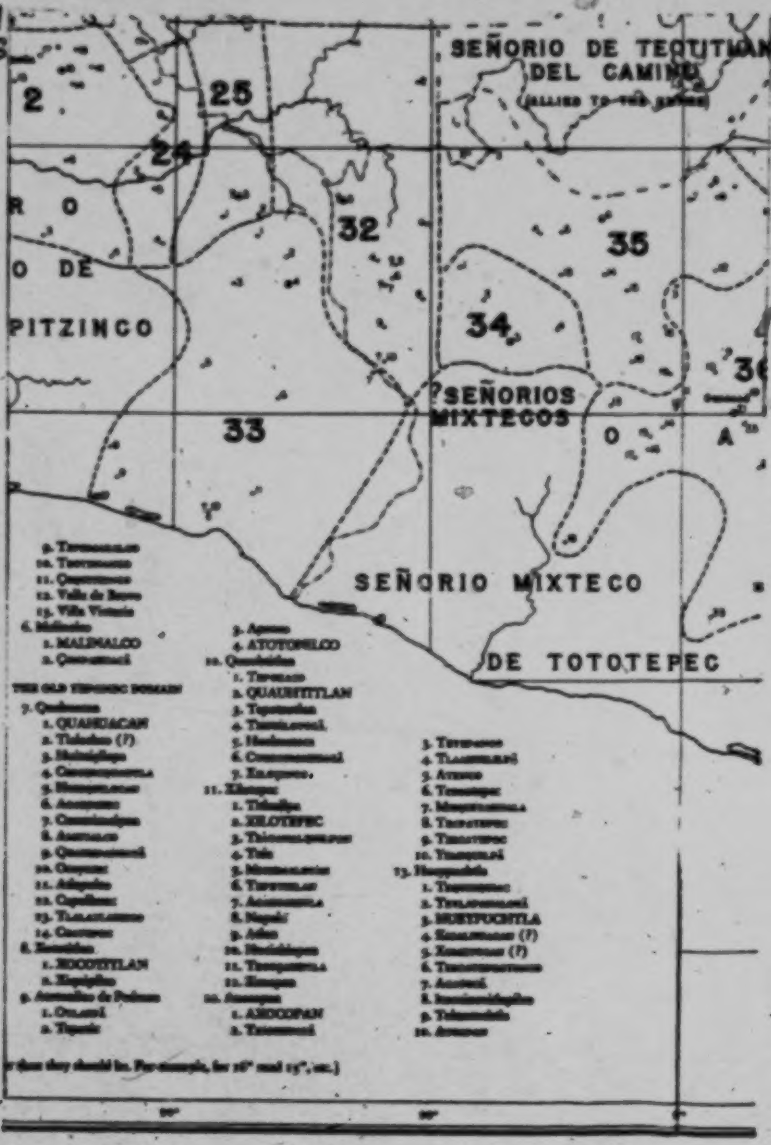
131
103


G U E R R E R O
SEÑORIO D
YOPITZ
1
2
THE EMPIRE OF
THE CULHUA MEXICA
KEY
CEHUATLAN
TEPEQUACUILCO
TULUCA
OCUILAN

[facing p. 144(E)]

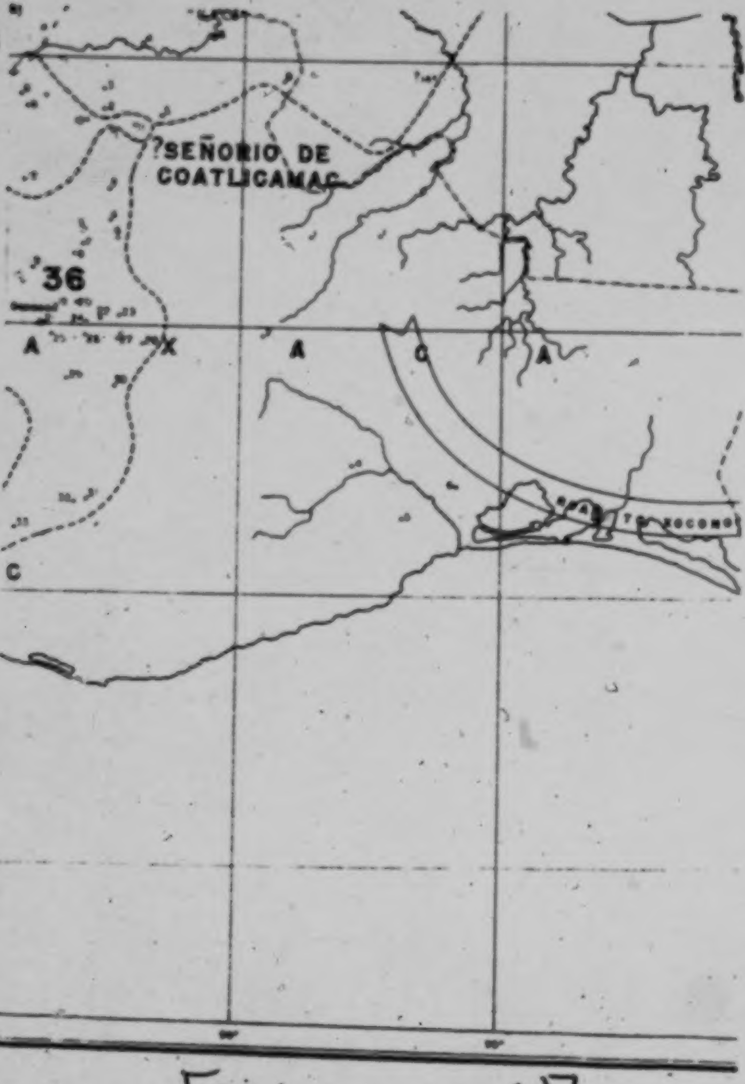
8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7

131
103


SEÑORIO DE TEOTITLAN
DEL CAMINO
(ALLIED TO THE AZTECS)
2
25
24
R O
O DE
PITZINCO
32
33
34
35
36
SEÑORIOS
MIXTECOS
O A
SEÑORIO MIXTECO
DE TOTOTEPEC
12. Valle de Bravo
13. Villa Victoria
1. MALINALCO
THE OLD TEPANEC DOMAIN
1. QUAHUACAN
2. Tlalachco (?)
1. XOCOTITLAN
4. ATOTONILCO
2. QUAUHTITLAN
2. XILOTEPEC
1. AXOCOPAN
3. HUEYPOCHTLA

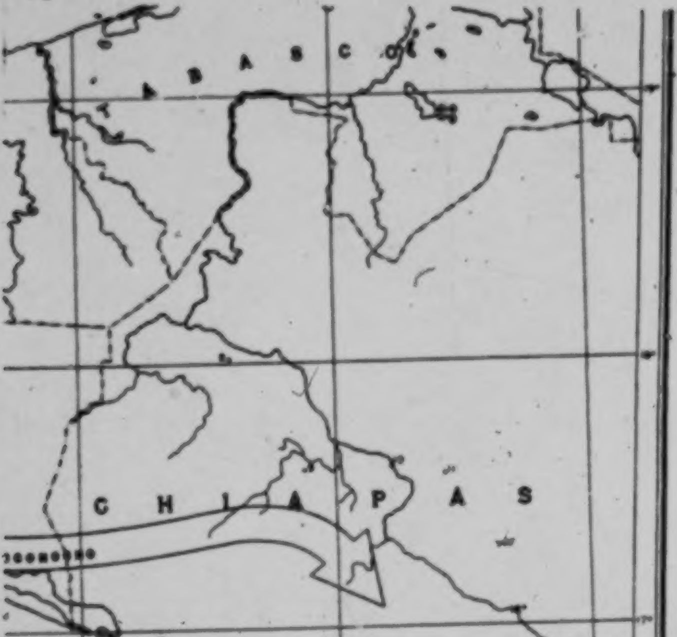
[facing p. 144 (F)]

131
103


?SEÑORIO DE
COATLICAMAC
36
A
X
A
C
A
C

[Facing p. 144(G)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date)1949 NU7 Aztec NU7


ABASCO
CHIAPAS
30

[FACING p.144(H)]

8: Barlow E-4 (no date) 1949 NU7 Aztec NU7
103, 131

Chart of map facing page 144

A	B	C	D
E	F	G	H